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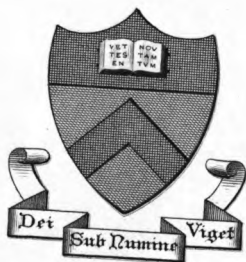
THE SUNSET CLUB

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"We have had too much of 'The Gospel of Work;' it is time to preach
"The Gospel of Relaxation.'"—HERBERT SPENCER.

The Sunset Club

CHICAGO

ORGANIZED MARCH, 1889

THE MEETINGS OF 1899, 1900 AND 1901, AND A LIST OF
MEMBERS TO SEPTEMBER, 1901

At set of sun one lone star rules the skies,
Night spreads a feast the day's long toil has won.
Eat, drink, enough — no more, and speak, ye wise,
Speak, but enough — no more, at set of sun.

—EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

HENRY BAUSER

AUSTIN W. WRIGHT

JOSEPH W. ERRANT

SHAILER MATHEWS

A. A. MCCORMICK

L. WILBUR MESSER

ARTHUR W. UNDERWOOD

JOHN M. DODSON

JOSEPH W. HINER, *Secretary*

THE Sunset Club disbanded in 1895, after six years of vigorous and effective life. It was revived in 1898, and since its revival has held twenty-four meetings, furnishing material for two Year Books, of which this is one.

The conditions which prompted the suspension of the club's meetings in 1895 being now repeated, the executive committee has again decided to disband it. In presenting this, its final Year Book, the Sunset Club makes its parting bow to its constituency.

Measured by years the life of the Sunset Club may seem short, but it has lived long enough to witness the birth and death of many similar organizations in other cities. It has outlived its contemporaries, and its career should end now, lest it also outlive its usefulness. It has talked about politics, theology, economics, literature and philosophy with candor, if not always with wisdom. Whatever may have been its faults, lack of catholicity was never one of them. Its first epoch ended with a discussion of "The Coming Woman." The second closed with an attempt to dissect "The Party Boss." Whether its work has been good, bad or indifferent, it has certainly earned the rest it is about to take.

JOSEPH W. HINER, *Secretary.*

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DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

No Club House	No Long Speeches
No Constitution	No Dress Coats
No Debts	No Late Hours
No Contribution	No Perfumed Notes
No Accounts	No Parliamentary Rules
No Defalcations	No Personalities
No By-Laws	No Dudes
No Stipulations	No Mere Formalities
No Profanity	No Preaching
No Fines	No Dictation
No Stealing	No Dues
No Combines	No Litigation
No President	No Gamblers
No Bores	No Dead Beats
No Steward	No Embezzlers
No "Encores"	From Foreign Retreats
No Meanness	
No Vituperation	
Simply Tolerant Discussion	
And Rational Recreation	

OBJECT

To foster rational good fellowship and tolerant discussion among business and professional men of all classes.

REQUIREMENTS FOR MEMBERSHIP

Any genial and tolerant fellow may become a member on approval of the Executive Committee.

PROGRAM

A dinner once a month at six o'clock, followed by short talks upon a subject previously announced by the Secretary.

EXPENSES

The only expenses incident to membership in the Sunset Club are an annual assessment of three dollars for stationery, printing, etc., and one dollar and a half for each dinner partaken of.

CONTENTS

The Transvaal War — Is England's Course Justifiable ? . . .	1
The Rights of Union Labor	37
What Shall We Do with the Philippines ?	71
The Tax Problem in Cook County — Is the New Revenue Law a Success ?	105
The Porto Rican Tariff Bill — Should it become a Law ? . . .	135
The Outlook for the Professional Man	167
What is the Paramount Issue in the National Campaign ? . . .	199
The Late Election — What will be its Effect on Parties, Policies and Issues ?	231
The Crisis in China — What Should be the Policy of the Christian World Concerning It ?	263
The Suppression of Vice and Crime in Chicago	295
What is the Greatest Menace to Twentieth Century Progress ? .	327
Have We Violated Our Obligations to Cuba ?	359
The Party Boss	391

NINETY-EIGHTH MEETING

NOVEMBER 9, 1899

ONE HUNDRED AND FORTY-THREE PRESENT

SUBJECT:

The Transvaal War—Is England's
Course Justifiable?

CHAIRMAN: PROF. SHAILER MATHEWS

ADDRESSES BY

MR. SLASON THOMPSON

MR. D. J. SCHUYLER

GENERAL DISCUSSION BY

MR. CHARLES SHACKLEFORD

MR. JOSEPH B. DAVID

MR. JOHN F. FINERTY

MR. JOHN VENEMA

MR. LOUIS F. POST

MR. HENRY MEMORY

MR. W. J. STRONG

MR. F. A. BROWN



NINETY-EIGHTH MEETING.

Held at the Palmer House, Thursday, November 9th, 1899.

One Hundred and Forty-three Present.

"The Transvaal War--Is England's Course Justifiable?"

MR. HOWARD L. SMITH: Gentlemen of the Sunset Club, almost exactly two years ago the executive committee of this club, having decided to launch it again upon a career which had been interrupted for a couple of years, conferred upon me the honor of the secretaryship of the club. It implied, perhaps, something of presumption to seek to revive the ancient and departed glories of the Sunset Club, which had filled so large a place in the history and traditions of the last decade of the nineteenth century in Chicago. It is not for me to say how much of failure or of success has attended that attempt, but after two years we are here at any rate, reasonably strong, numerically and physically. The club now numbers between four hundred and five hundred members. The probability is that there will soon be seen large numbers just outside, hammering at the door, anxious to get in. The bound volume of proceedings of the last two years is in the hands of the printer, and will soon be ready for distribution to members, and a number of new topics are filling the social and political and religious horizon and demanding solution at our hands. Therefore, I say *nil desperandum*.

The time has arrived when, in the course of natural events, I must be relieved from the responsibility and must abdicate the honor, but the mantle of Elijah has fallen upon an Elisha with whom we are well acquainted, a member of this club whom the Executive Committee have chosen for the position, a gentleman whom it has been my pleasure on more than one occasion during the last two years to introduce to you in the capacity of chairman or principal speaker, and I congratulate the club very sincerely that its administrative affairs have fallen into such hands, and in performing this last introductory function as Secretary, I can wish the incoming Secretary no better thing than that his relations with you all may be as harmonious and as pleasant and as delightful as mine have been during the last two years. And when in the course of time he too comes to be translated, he will be as grateful to you as I am, and as I wish I might adequately express myself to be, for the cordial co-operation which you have given me at all times during the last two years, and for the kindly oblivion in which you have buried my mistakes and omissions. I have the pleasure, gentlemen, of introducing to you the seventh secretary of the Sunset Club—Mr. Joseph W. Hiner—and I trust, gentlemen, that the good fortune which is supposed to be associated with the mystic number seven may always attend him and you in your relations with each other. Mr. Hiner.

MR. JOSEPH W. HINER: Gentlemen of the Sunset Club, a few moments ago in conversation with my worthy predecessor he made a little explanation that interested me very much, and may interest you. Several months ago I attended a meeting of this club, at which a very eminent clergyman of this city acted as presiding officer. I was struck with the appropriateness of his remarks with reference to the introductory remarks of the Secretary. Everything the Secretary said of a jovial character was responded to by the minister in very appropriate terms, and everybody commented upon and admired the readiness of the clergyman's wit. The retiring Secretary now informs me that he and the clergyman had the whole performance in dress rehearsal for about two weeks. Now, if our worthy ex-Secretary had the same kindly feeling toward the laity which he has toward the clergy, he might have given me a chance to be witty. But he didn't give me any such chance. His extremely complimentary remarks, however, fill me with misgivings as to the success of my administration. I am not sure but this club will have the experience of an old maid I once heard of, who bought a canary bird upon the assurance that it was a very fine songster. After she

had had it a couple of weeks somebody asked her how the bird was singing. She said: "He hasn't sung a song, or chirped a chirp, or twitted a twitter, but he has laid a little aig."

As the retiring Secretary has remarked, we are likely to have a good many applications for membership this fall. I have no doubt there are a great many eligible citizens who would like to come into this club. There are those who would like to come and listen, and there are a great many others who would like to come and be listened to. There are a great many orators in this town who will never have a chance to adorn the Senate, but we would be glad to give them the opportunity, for a small consideration, to adorn the Sunset Club.

I ask your co-operation in continuing the work of the Sunset Club. I cannot hope to equal the brilliant administration of my predecessor, but, with your help, I will follow in his footsteps as closely as possible.

I have endeavored to ascertain in the course of preparation for this meeting whether any of the people who are interested in the Transvaal trouble are represented in Chicago. I have made a diligent search for Boers, but I haven't found any. There are no Boers in Chicago—at least none of the South African variety. There are some men in Chicago to whom that term may perhaps be appropriately applied. In their case it is not spelled in the South African way. I have also discovered that there are some bores in town, but neither the boors nor the bores would be eligible to the Sunset Club as members or guests, so we will not consider them any further. I have also made an investigation to ascertain whether there are any Africanders here, but have found none. I have found that there are a good many Africans in town, but they all have troubles of their own. None of them are interested particularly in the troubles of Uncle Paul Kruger, although some of them are interested in their uncle on South Clark street. I have also looked all over town for Outlanders, with the same result. It is true there are some outlandish people in this city, but no Outlanders, unless we apply the term to our friends who live in the suburbs, and I find that they are disposed to resent such application.

I found also that this trouble in the Transvaal pervades all classes more or less. There is only one locality in this city which is exempt from the din of external strife, and that is the district bounded by the classic precincts of our great university. Out there they are so absorbed in the contemplation of the beatitudes that they are never disturbed by the uproar of the outer world. It is, therefore, very proper that we should go to the university when

we seek for a disinterested presiding officer on an occasion like this. The immortal Dooley once referred to our university as "Me frind Rockefeller's Refinery on the Midway." We have with us this evening a gentleman who is supplied with a liberal quantity of oil from the refinery, which he will pour on the troubled waters in case this discussion becomes too animated. And if that method fails, he has another more potent one up his sleeve, for I want to give you warning that the athletic prowess of our great university is not confined to the students, but extends in full vigor to the faculty, and if mildness fails to keep order this evening, muscle will undoubtedly be resorted to. I now have the pleasure of introducing to you the Chairman of the evening, Professor Shailer Mathews of the University of Chicago.

PROFESSOR SHAILER MATHEWS: Mr Secretary and gentlemen of the Sunset Club, I feel highly flattered, not because of standing here, but by being introduced in this fashion. The fact is, the Secretary didn't put up any job with me as his predecessor did with the clergyman, and I now understand the singular reticence with which he conducted the whole proceeding, when he called at my house one Sunday in his bicycle suit just after I had come from church, and suggested that I should have this honor thrust upon me. I will go almost any distance for the sake of hearing other people or myself talk, and I accepted with alacrity, but when I attempted to discover what my function was to be here I struck a remarkable reticence on the part of my legal friend. It now appears very well, for the man has used up every possible joke which the most casuistic and brilliant wit could think of. I have been cudgeling my brain all the afternoon how to work in Boer and Outlander and jokes of all kinds and conditions, but I want to say this, that the pun is the lowest sort of joke a man can get off. When I was in college a quarter of a century ago there was a young man whom I endeavored to play a joke upon. It was on Christmas, and I was expecting an entertaining package from an entertaining young friend of the opposite gender, and the package came with a very large charge for expressage on it. I took it to my room and found it was a piece of wood. When a certain college friend of mine asked me if I had received a package that day I thought I saw through it, and then I decided I would pay him back. Accordingly I got, or rather planned to get, a barrel, which I was going to fill with wood and send to my friend, when all of a sudden it occurred to me that there was no end to that sort of thing; that if I sent the barrel in return for the paper he could send a

hogshead in return for the barrel. The fact is, that the next time that my friend makes a Sunday call on his neighbors, in order not to be outdone, I will leave him alone.

A couple of years ago I had the good fortune to be in Egypt, and since that time I have naturally felt an increasing interest in all the remarkable history that is being made in that tremendous continent. At that time the road which now runs clear to Khartoum was just being laid. The great expedition of Kitchener had not then been undertaken, but the preparations were being made. I remember one day riding in a street car, one of those anachronisms in Cairo, I heard a couple of British soldiers talking with each other, discussing the expedition they were about to make. One of them belonged to the ambulance corps and the other was only a fighter, and the ambulance man said to the fighter, "You will be mighty glad to see me coming towards you one of these days."

Well, the result of the campaign carried on with those two young men and several thousand others fulfilled, as you remember, in a remarkable way the prophecy of the ambulance man. Now, what was going on in the north was, we can see, at least, but a chapter in the tremendous history Britain is trying to write on the continent of Africa. It is only a few years ago we read the extraordinary story of Stanley telling how he made his way across the African continent from sea to sea, and we all felt at the time that it was a new world. At the present time there is no unknown continent in Africa at all, and it is only a matter of a few years that the portions of the railroad which runs cars from the Mediterranean almost to Khartoum will be complete the whole length of the continent, and finally have its terminus in Cape Colony. Now, in the midst of all that tremendous plan which has been carried on, as we can now see for years, in the midst of it all there has stood, as it has stood for years, the question of the Transvaal. What shall be done with this little country, which refuses to do one thing or the other? None of us, I suppose, understand the policy of Great Britain. Any man who has studied the history of that marvelous people and the marvelous successions of administrations for the last one hundred and fifty years has, I think, given up prophecy regarding what Great Britain will do. A singular combination of opportunist and general forecaster of the future is your Briton. I remember speaking with a high official in Egypt, one of our officials, about the Egyptian condition, and I remember the extraordinary feeling with which he spoke on the subject of Great Britain and Egypt, and yet no one of us, I think, would dare say that the British occupation of Egypt has not been a great success, and a great blessing for

Egypt, but the paradoxical situation remains that in Egypt to-day—with courts established by, I think, sixteen different nations—the Greek or Italian, who keeps a little shop or runs some sort of gambling den, simply cannot be arrested by the Egyptian police, but must be arrested by his own consul; and what is true of the Greek and the Italian is true of other nations. I believe this paradoxical condition of affairs which we find in Egypt to-day is, after all, a sort of microcosm of the condition of all Africa. And the question which confronts us to-day is a question which is to have its answer, I am very sure, not simply from the point of view of the mere relations of the Boer to England, but it is going to be, when answered, one chapter in the tremendous volume which, as I said a moment ago, England is writing all over Africa, and which, therefore, raises the whole discussion out from the mere local character which we sometimes give to it into a great question of international law.

I referred a moment ago to the dark continent. It was a surprise to me to discover that the people whom we have to deal with are not a modern people any more than we are a modern people. Almost at the same time when our New England shores were being settled by people from England, Holland and other portions of Europe, these people from almost identically the same place, were going to the south to found colonies in Africa, and the colony of the Boers in Africa is practically as old almost as the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam and America.

I might go on, and I dare say I might give you a very good speech, for I have been favorably seated on the one side by the orator who is to represent England, and on the other side by the orator who is to represent the Hollanders, and if I had any of the spirit of my friend, the Secretary, I should spring on you all the speeches of both of them, but with the generosity, the peaceful character, which marks the university to which I belong—which does not mark it always on a foot-ball afternoon—I yield the floor to the principal speaker of the evening. We have the honor of having as our guest this evening Mr. Slason Thompson, of the Times-Herald, who will speak on the affirmative of the question, "Is England's Course Justifiable?"

MR. SLASON THOMPSON: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Sunset Club:

All Dutch are divided into three classes—the High Dutch, who hitched their fortunes to the Stars and Stripes; the Low Dutch, who

still inhabit the Netherlands, and the Boers. The term Low Dutch is not intended to convey any invidious inference.

The forefathers of Governor Roosevelt and Mayor Van Wyck settled around the mouth of the Hudson in 1613; the forerunners of President Paul Kruger emigrated to Cape Colony in 1652.

There need be no other proof that blood is thicker than water than the sentimental sympathy that exists among the High Dutch in the United States to-day for the Boers who are battling against human liberty and government by the majority, in South Africa. It has survived the divergence of more than five centuries, thousands of leagues of ocean and a difference of environment as wide as the poles.

Governor Roosevelt and Mayor Van Wyck are the beneficiaries of the self-same principles that President Kruger and General Joubert are fighting against in the Transvaal.

I propose to trace the course of events in South Africa that have made the present struggle inevitable. If it had not come now, it would have come hereafter.

While the Dutch were the original settlers of South Africa, the people we call the Boers are a mixed race of Germans and Flemings, with a sprinkling of Poles, Huguenots and Portuguese.

James Bryce, the author of the *American Commonwealth*, says that they have a genius for disobedience, and that they resent restraint of any kind. From the first the government they established in Cape Colony was narrow and tyrannical, based chiefly on scriptural texts and human slavery. Their only idea of treating the native Hottentots was to enslave those they did not exterminate.

The Pretorian oligarchy of to-day is the legitimate descendant of the slave holding oligarchy of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

In the seventh year of this century Cape Colony came under British rule, but the British settlement there only dates from 1820.

Much has been said of the intense love of liberty that took the Boers from under the tyranny of the British at the Cape, and sent them into the wilderness to carve out a new republic for themselves. The unvarnished truth is that they trekked from Cape Colony because of the emancipation of slaves there in 1834.

The \$15,000,000 paid by the British government could not console the pious Boers for the liberation of their 39,000 bond slaves.

British authority and detestation of slavery followed the Boers into Nataland; it was to escape this that they made their final trek about 1850 into the Orange country and beyond the Vaal river, and set up the government of burghers for burghers which refused

rights to all other whites and was designed to perpetuate slavery for all blacks.

In the Orange Free State, where the Volksraad is elected by nearly universal white suffrage, Britain and Boer have gotten along all right.

In Cape Colony, where, since 1853, they have a Constitution of almost ideal liberality, the Dutch outvote the British, but the latter do not complain because they recognize the right as well as the might of a lawful majority. Only in the Transvaal, where the tradition and tyranny of the 17th century are making a last stand against the extension of the liberty and law of the 19th, has there been a constant succession of wars involving British, natives and Boers.

Some idea of the sort of liberty the Boers took with them into the Transvaal may be gained from the "Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa," of David Livingstone. They forced the natives to till their fields. "We make the people work for us," said the Boers to Livingstone, "in consideration of allowing them to live in our country." Here is Livingstone's description of how the Boers managed to replenish their stock of cattle and slaves in the early '60's.

"It is only in winter, when horses can be used without danger of dying of disease, that these expeditions can take place. One or two friendly tribes are forced to accompany a party of mounted Boers and are ranged in front to form 'a shield.' The Boers then coolly fire over their heads till the devoted people flee and leave cattle, wives and children to the captors. This was done in nine cases during my residence in the interior, and on no occasion was a drop of Boer blood shed."

The political independence of Transvaal dates from the Sand River convention of 1852 which contained this stipulation: "No slavery is or shall be permitted or practiced by the farmers in the country north of the Vaal River." The Boers never pretended to live up to this convention. Neither could they live in peace with the neighboring tribes. They were in continual quarrels with the Zulus, Barolonges and Griquas, until in 1875, dispirited by repeated reverses with an empty treasury, no credit, and threatened with annihilation by the Zulus, they called upon the British for help and were only too glad to take refuge under the "white" flag. That "white" flag was dyed red in British blood in the Zulu war which was the direct result of an old controversy between the Boers and the Zulus over a piece of land lying between Zululand and the Transvaal. But no sooner did disaster overtake the British arms in

that war than the Boers turned against the power that had saved them from the just wrath of the natives.

On December 16, 1880, the Boers issued a proclamation re-establishing the Transvaal republic, and with characteristic promptness, not to say treachery, the same day a Boer force attacked Potchefstroom. Much has been made of the British disaster of Majuba hill where only one Boer was killed, but who now recalls the massacre at Bronkhorst-Spruit that preceded it? Here a force of 268 men, women and children under Col. Anstruther was attacked by a body of Boers who surrounded the straggling wagon train while on the march. The Boers sent in a flag of truce to the officer commanding, and, while he was reading the letter and replying verbally that his instructions were to proceed to Pretoria, the attacking force of Boers, under cover of the flag of truce, advanced upon the soldiers and so posted itself that when Col. Anstruther's answer was given it opened a deadly fire. The English officers were picked off by the Boer marksmen like so many prairie chickens and before the butchery ceased 157 of the small English force were dead or wounded. It was not the first time, nor the last, that the Boers were guilty of the Indian trick of using the white flag as a decoy.

Then followed Majuba Hill, and the convention of 1881 with the guarantee of "self-government subject to the suzerainty of her majesty." This suzerainty gave England control of the foreign relations, the frontier relations and the native relations of the Boers. Uncle Paul Kruger spoke of that agreement as "proof of England's noble and magnanimous love of right and justice," and before the ink was dry began scheming how he and his associates could knock the suzerainty out of it. The natives among the European farms were at once reduced to the same condition of slavery in which they were before the annexation in 1876. The brutal treatment of native tribes by the Boers between 1881 and 1884 almost passes belief, and it was to protect these natives that the British government negotiated a fresh agreement known as the London convention of 1884.

Let me call your attention to the fact that in 1885, the year preceding the discovery of the Rand gold fields, the total revenue of the Transvaal was \$810,000. In 1897 it had risen to \$24,420,000. Ninety per cent. of this was derived from the Outlanders, while 84 per cent. of the expenditures, amounting to over \$23,000,000, was devoted to purely Boer purposes. It has been estimated that the whole constitutional expenditures of the Transvaal should not exceed one-third of this amount. The other two-thirds has gone

where it would do the most good to Uncle Paul and his associates of the Pretorian oligarchy.

But I am anticipating.

It has been claimed that the Outlanders were intruders and entitled to no rights. The historical fact is that the Outlanders went into the Transvaal on the direct and personal invitation of President Kruger, with the official assurance that they should enjoy "equal rights, civil and political, with the burghers." Here is a letter written by Uncle Paul's secretary during the negotiations that resulted in the Convention of 1884, which shows how the gold miners were welcomed:

ALBEMARLE HOTEL, London, December 21, 1883.

SIR: I am directed by the President and deputation of the Transvaal to acknowledge your letter of December 19th, inquiring whether the Transvaal government will view with satisfaction the development of the opportunities in which concessions have been granted, and whether the companies acquiring concessions can count upon government protection. In reply I am to state that the President and deputation cannot refrain from expressing surprise and indignation at your directors thinking such an inquiry necessary, as it is absurd to suppose that the government of the Transvaal would grant a concession on the Lisbon and Berlyn, or any other plat of ground, and then refuse to protect the rights conveyed thereby. The government desires to see the mineral resources of Transvaal developed to their fullest extent, and will give every assistance incumbent on them to that end.

EDWARD ESSELEN, Secretary.

The convention of 1884 by Article IV gave England the same control of foreign and frontier relations that was conceded to her by that of 1881. The word "Suzerainty" was eliminated, but the essential relations that distinguish a paramount power remained.

Up to this time the Pretorian oligarchy had no reason to fear that equal rights to other whites might threaten Dutch supremacy in the Transvaal. Its idea of government by a majority was government by the Dutch of blacks and whites for the Dutch. They were the majority by five to one, and in the natural order of nature would continue so. Therefore they were willing to guarantee all civil and political equality to the hopeless minority.

But in 1886 out of the bowels of the earth came the rude awakening of the Boer from his dream of a Dutch republic. In the twinkling of an eye the discovery of the fabulously rich gold fields of the Witwatersrand with the finger of Fate pointed the end of Dutch rule in the horoscope of the Transvaal.

Immigration was free under the convention. Equal rights were guaranteed to all whites under the convention. The gold-miner had the pledge of President Kruger to protection in the fullest develop-

ment of the mines. The flood gates were opened, and not all the trickery, cunning and desperation of the Pretorian oligarchy has been able to close them against the tide of civilization sweeping over South Africa in search of gold.

The Dutch patriots sold their farms, yea, their cemeteries, without removing the bones of their ancestors, to the prospecting outlanders. Even Paul Kruger could not resist the big price put upon his own homestead by a speculator, to whom he denied the rights of citizenship. The figures of the gold output of the Rand read like a tale of the East. In 1886 it was \$152,000; 1887, \$845,000; 1888, \$4,835,000; 1889, \$7,450,000; 1890, \$9,300,000; 1891, \$14,620,000; 1892, \$22,700,000; 1893, \$27,400,000; 1894, \$39,000,000; 1895, \$43,000,000; in 1896 it was \$43,000,000; 1897, \$60,000,000; 1898, \$86,000,000, and for this year the increase for the first six months promised a yield of over \$100,000,000.

Bravely and stolidly, but stupidly, the Pretorian oligarchy set its back against the gates to this African golconda and defied the inevitable.

True statesmanship would have sought to mold the newcomers in with the old citizens, relying on the clannishness of the Dutch vote to maintain Dutch ascendancy.

But the crafty Kruger, shrewd and unscrupulous in negotiation, unfettered by pledges, holding justice and English power in equal contempt, was not a statesman. Instead of binding the Outlanders to the Transvaal republic by bonds of justice and self-interest, he proceeded to demonstrate that a republic can be the most tyrannical, corrupt and despotic government in the world. If taxation without representation, courts without justice, wrongs without redress, had been the watchwords of the republic, Kruger could not have lived up to them more conscientiously.

The Pretorian oligarchy set about to govern by disfranchising the wealth, the intelligence, the progressive spirit of the population. The only heed it paid to protests was to give the screws of taxation and injustice another turn.

By 1895 conditions became unendurable, and the Outlanders, forming themselves into a national union, petitioned the Volksraad for redress of their wrongs. Kruger showed no signs of yielding. But the Jameson raid—the maddest, wickedest folly ever committed in a righteous cause—brought the reform movement to an ignominious and impotent end. With a now familiar disregard of pledges, Kruger wreaked vengeance on the leaders of the agitation, and but for the intervention of the British government the sequel to

the Jameson raid promised a demonstration of Boer barbarity that would have shocked the world.

After the Jameson raid conditions in the Transvaal became more than ever intolerable to the majority. Instead of granting some measure of relief to allay just complaints, the arbitrary exactions of the oligarchy were more brutal and oppressive.

You may ask, why did not the Outlanders, being in a majority of nearly three to one adult males, rise and right their wrongs themselves? The answer is easy. The Dutch oligarchy had taken the precaution to deny the majority the right to bear arms. While every burgher is a soldier, armed and trained at the expense of the Outlander, the Outlander is a helpless unit in the Transvaal line—a cipher, politically, denied the means of defending his life or property by the ballot or the bullet.

Such was the condition of the Outlander last March when 21,684 disfranchised British citizens of the Transvaal forwarded a statement of their wrongs to the British government. Among other things this petition complained that British subjects were expelled from the Transvaal without the right of appeal to the high court. That in Johannesburg, where there were only 1,039 burghers to 23,503 Outlanders, one alderman of two from each ward must be a burgher, and in the council the burgomaster appointed by the government has the casting vote.

That the city of Johannesburg is menaced by Boer forts and garrisons.

That the police of the city are Boers.

That trial by jury is a farce, as Outlanders can be tried by burghers only.

That Outlanders are deprived of political representation, while they are taxed beyond the requirements of the Transvaal government.

That the education of Outlander children is made subject to impossible conditions, etc.

This petition forms the starting point for the diplomatic negotiations that closed with Kruger's ultimatum of last month.

Throughout these negotiations every effort to pin President Kruger down to the redress of a single Outlander grievance has been futile. His proposed franchise reform would not permit 2 per cent. of the Outlanders to become naturalized—and even that 2 per cent. would be by the leave of the burghers and not of right. Besides, any reform the present Volksraad might grant could be repealed at any time by a bare majority vote.

The evidence is overwhelming that British supremacy in all

South Africa is involved in the cause of the Outlanders in the Transvaal, and as the paramount power in that part of the world, England was justified in intervening to put an end to the intolerable condition of affairs, that, like a fester in a man's hand, threatened to poison the political body of South Africa.

I need not speak of the self-perpetuating character of the Pretorian oligarchy—Kruger has re-elected himself for four consecutive terms of five years each—nor of the subordination of the courts, from the highest to the lowest, to the executive, nor of the oppressive monopolies, nor of the greed and despotism of the executive council which absorbs more than one-half of the revenues paid by the Outlanders, nor of the ban upon English speech in politics or the schools. These are all incidents of government by a military minority at the expense of an unarmed majority which pays 90 per cent. of the taxes. If these conditions existed under a white government, where manhood and property had equal rights, I would say let the Transvaal stew in its own broth of misrule, monopoly and corruption.

It was a question of intervention from without or revolution within. The Boers had provided against the latter by disarming the Outlanders, leaving British intervention as the only alternative.

If Paul Kruger had taken the advice of Philosopher Dooley he would have given the Outlanders the votes and done the countin' himself. As he has rejected it, he and the significantly named Pretorian oligarchy must take the consequences. Whether these shall be driving of the English dogs into the sea, as in fine contempt or ignorance of British power he prophesies, or the establishment of British supremacy at Bloemfontein as well as Pretoria, time alone can tell.

Of this, however, I am sure, that the Boer in South Africa has forfeited all claim on American sympathy. He is not fighting for independence, but for an arbitrary, despotic and corrupt oligarchy.

People who count history by the day may wish the Boers success in their present attempt to halt the shadows on the dial. But all who view events in their broader sweep must perceive that the British are simply obeying the same law of human progress they did when they supplanted the Dutch on the Hudson and overcame the French at Quebec; just as the Americans, inspired by the literature of Shakespeare and Milton, the principles of Hampden and Cromwell and the memories of Runnymede and Marston Moor, did on this continent in 1776, and are now doing in Cuba, Porto Rico and the Philippines.

There is a law of the survival of the fittest for races and nations as well as for animals and individuals.

The Boers are fighting against that law.

The British are fighting for those elementary principles of liberty and law, equal rights and no taxation without representation, which are at the base of every government entitled to the respect and sympathy of the American people.

THE CHAIRMAN: Our next speaker is Mr. D. J. Schuyler, President of the Holland Society, who will answer the question in the negative.

MR. D. J. SCHUYLER: *Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Sunset Club:* The Chairman said just as he resumed his seat that we couldn't anticipate the policy of Great Britain in Africa, I won't say as to South Africa but the whole of Africa. I don't agree with him. I think we *can* anticipate the policy of Great Britain in Africa, and it is just as manifest as anything under the sun, that it is to gobble up the whole territory irrespective of the rights of any of its inhabitants. Now, Great Britain has always been a great discoverer —after the discovery of somebody else. She discovered the New Netherlands after the Dutch had discovered that country and Henry Hudson had sailed up the great Hudson River. Drake sailed by one day in his crusade upon the Spanish armada and took away the New Netherlands from the Dutch. She discovered Canada after Champlain, the Frenchman, had sailed up the majestic river of the St. Lawrence and had landed at Quebec and had settled the country. It has been said here this evening that the Dutch employed the negroes to fight her battles. Let us not forget that Great Britain, during the Revolutionary war, hired Brent and the Indians who traveled up and down the Mohawk River and up the Schoharie River, and scalped some, among others, of my own ancestors. Now, then, I have listened with a great deal of pleasure to the argument made by the counsel for Great Britain, and while I am not much of a Dutchman, as my people came to this country some two hundred and fifty years ago, still there is in my veins something of the courage of the old ancestors who drove the Spanish out of Holland and built an empire and broke up the imperial government of Philip the Second.

I have listened with a great deal of interest to the presentation of the British side of the Boer controversy by Mr. Thompson, and this presentation seems to me to fall far short of furnishing a justifiable excuse for the present war in South Africa.

It must have occurred to the members of the Sunset Club that to

justify a war against the small states of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State by a power so great that the sun never sets upon its domains, there must have been some gross violation of international law or grave breach of that comity which is supposed to exist between nations and which is usually settled by diplomatic intercourse, but nothing appears in the demands of the British Government from which it can be said there was any infraction of international law or want of good faith on the part of the Dutch, the Afrikaners.

There are three ways by which a State or Empire may possess and occupy new territory, and these are by discovery, by purchase or by conquest; and the present attempt of the British government to bring under her subjugation the people of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State is by war, and that war, as it seems to us, is one of conquest. In order that we may fully understand the precise situation, a short summary of the facts as they historically exist is indispensable.

It is not a controverted fact that the Dutch took possession of the territory in South Africa, or of what is now known as Cape Colony, and that subsequently and in the middle of the Seventeenth Century, and in 1652, there emigrated to the Cape from Holland a number of colonists, Huguenots who had been driven from their native country by religious persecution, and Hollanders who left their own country for the same reason. These people settled around the fort erected by the Dutch at the Cape and commenced to settle up the wilderness and establish homes and churches for themselves. Like their ancestors, they were a courageous, industrious and thrifty people, and, by their industry and courage, the savages were subdued, the country was settled, the land cultivated, and the colony became a successful and prosperous community and organized state.

This continued until after the conquest of India by Great Britain and until 1795, when the British, for the purpose of carrying out their commercial schemes in India, siezed the Cape and established a government of their own. The British continued in possession until 1803, when the territory was surrendered to the Dutch, who remained in occupation until 1806, when the British government again took possession of the colony and from that time until the present they have been in the continuous occupation of the territory.

The unjust and oppressive laws imposed upon the colonists and the rule of the British over the Dutch was such as to create great dissatisfaction between the people and the government, and disturbances arose and grew into a revolt which continued until 1815. In

1814, through the shifting conditions of European politics growing out of the Napoleonic wars, a treaty was made between Great Britain and the European powers whereby Great Britain acquired the territory in Cape Colony. Following this acquisition the laws became still more drastic and oppressive to the Dutch, and this resulted in an open revolt against the government in 1815.

Sir Charles Sumner was then Governor of the colony. The Dutch were subdued and five of the leading men of the colony were executed by the British at Schlachter's Nek. Whether justified or not is not a question for discussion here. The consequence of this was an increase of the hostile feeling between the government and the Boers, and this increased in intensity until 1836, the year of the great trek, when the Boers left their homes and farms and settled the territory of Natal and established the Natal Republic with their capital at Pietermaritzburg. Natal is said to be the garden of South Africa, and, under the perseverance and indefatigable industry of the Boers, the savages were brought under subjugation, and the wilderness was converted into farms and homes. The people remained in the undisturbed possession of the territory without interference from Great Britain until 1843, when Natal was seized by the British government at Durban and converted into a dependency, and such of the people as were not willing to submit to British rule were driven out farther into the wilderness and occupied the territory now known as the Orange Free State.

During the time of the occupation of this territory, and between 1848 and 1854, a large number of Boers left the Orange Free State and trekked to the territory of the Transvaal, now known as the South African Republic, and the Dutch remaining in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal continued in the peaceful occupation of the territories until 1877, when, during the ministry of Disraeli, an attempt was made to seize the Transvaal, and a British expedition organized for the purpose, entered the Transvaal and proclaimed the annexation of the territory as a colony of Great Britain.

After the Dutch had taken possession of the Transvaal and between that time and the annexation of the territory in 1877, the land was cultivated, farms established, cities built and a government established. The people, to all intents and purposes, were free and independent, and were so recognized by the British government in 1852 and up to the time of the forcible annexation in 1877. This attempted annexation resulted in a conflict between the Boers and the British, in which the British were defeated at Laing's Neck and at the celebrated contest of Majuba Hill. In the meantime there was a change in the ministry. Mr. Gladstone came into power, and

in 1881 the Transvaal was recognized by Great Britain as a free and independent State, a treaty was entered into with the government of the Transvaal whereby the independence of the people was recognized, under the title of the South African Republic, and the rights of Great Britain over the territory were surrendered, with the exception of the reserved privilege of supervising treaties made by the South African Republic with foreign powers.

It is immaterial, however, except for the purpose of showing, by the Convention of 1881, the internal affairs of the Republic were surrendered to the people, the British government to act as suzerain to the extent above mentioned, and no farther, for in 1884 a new treaty was entered into in which the word "suzerain" was omitted and all the rights of a free and independent people were surrendered to the Republic, with the exception of the right on the part of Great Britain to supervise treaties made with foreign powers.

The situation, therefore, created by the Convention of 1884, was the recognition of the independence of the Republic and a complete surrender of paramount power by the British government over its internal affairs.

In 1886 gold was discovered in the territory of the Transvaal, *i. e.*, in the territory belonging to the South African Republic, and this, with the previous discovery of the diamond mines at Kimberley, resulted in an influx of foreigners and adventurers of all nationalities, which has since continued, until at the present time there are more foreigners than Dutch occupying the Transvaal. The development of the gold mines had proved immensely profitable, and this resulted in great dissatisfaction on the part of the uitlanders, *i. e.*, the emigrants, with the present laws of the Republic, and a demand for representation in the enactment of these laws and in the administration of the government.

If this were the only question, I think it can be said that it might have been settled by arbitration, but the British government claims that the question of paramount power was never surrendered, and that a franchise would not be accepted upon the condition that the Uitlanders should renounce allegiance to their own country and take the oath of allegiance to the Republic.

In the discussion of this question with President Kruger at Bloemfontein, Sir Alfred Milner, the British Commissioner, refused to consider the proposition of any subject of Great Britain forswearing allegiance to his own country, and when the suggestion of representation upon a residence of five years was submitted, coupled with the conditions that those accepting the franchise should take the oath of

allegiance to the Republic and renounce allegiance to their own country, that the question of paramount power should be surrendered, and that there should be no further interference with the internal affairs of the Republic, Milner not only refused to consider such a proposition, but stated to President Kruger that the oath of naturalization which forswears allegiance to Great Britain or to the native land of the foreigner would not be agreed upon and must be left out. This closed the discussion of the question so far as Milner was concerned, for the reason that the result would inevitably be to create a citizenship without any obligations to the State, and with the expectation of receiving all the privileges which the State could confer, including the power to control the government when in the majority. It is not a matter of wonder that President Kruger was not willing to entertain the idea of granting the franchise to people residing in the Republic who were not willing to assume, or could not assume, because their government would not allow them, the duties of full citizenship, but only such as would enable them to control the politics of the Republic and thereby destroy its integrity and the independence of the people. The power to grant the franchise to the uitlanders and say what the duties of citizenship should be was a part of the internal affairs of the Republic and a matter over which Great Britain had no control, for the reason that such control had been fully surrendered to the Afrikaners in the treaties of 1881 and 1884. The question of taxation, and the passage of laws for the management of the State, were also purely matters of internal regulation with which the subjects of Great Britain residing in the Republic had nothing to do until they should conform to the laws and become naturalized citizens.

Referring to this proposition and the position of the British government, in a speech on the 21st day of September, 1899, Sir William Harcourt said: "They offered in August, in the first place, a five years' qualification which Sir Alfred Milner had demanded at Bloemfontein, and made an offer as liberal, or more liberal, than that which we ourselves had proposed in June. I do not see either the obstinacy or the delay in that. You began the controversy in June, and in August you get a practical acceptance of the terms you yourselves had proposed two months before. As to the sufficiency of the franchise in the offer, there is not, and cannot be, any dispute, but it is to be observed that the Transvaal made that offer subject to two conditions."

These conditions we have already referred to and are characterized as just and reasonable.

In speaking of the treaty of 1881, Lord Derby said: "By the omission of those articles in the convention of 1881, which assigned to Her Majesty and the British government certain specific powers and functions connected with the internal government and the foreign relations, your government will be left free to govern the country without interference, to conduct its diplomatic intercourse and shape its foreign policy, subject only to the requirements embodied in the fourth article of the new draft, that, any treaty with a foreign state shall not have effect without the approval of the queen."

This was a clear recognition of the fact that in that treaty, and certainly by the treaty of 1884, England had completely surrendered the question of paramount power with but the one reservation, but still we find that in reply to a note from the Secretary of State of the Transvaal to the Colonial Secretary suggesting arbitration as the means of settling the differences between the two governments, on the 13th day of July, the Secretary says: "The British government have no intention of discussing this question (referring to the question of paramount power), with the government of the republic, whose contention that the South African republic is a sovereign international state is not, in their opinion, warranted either by law or history, and is wholly inadmissible."

In this communication the conditions of the treaty were ignored by the Colonial Secretary, and it was thereupon and by this communication made a condition that no question would be submitted to arbitration involving the right of Great Britain to treat the South African Republic as a dependency of that power. In speaking of this treaty and the question of paramount power, Sir William Harcourt further said: "It was allowed to drop in 1884. That is exactly what did happen. The claim to suzerainty did drop then, and I do not understand why such conditions as these are to be regarded as impossible and to be rejected."

The conditions, as we have seen, were that the question of paramount power should not be raised and that there should be no further interference with the internal affairs of the Republic.

Sir Edward Clarke, after Parliament was convened for the purpose of providing funds to carry on the war, in a speech made by him upon the question of the relations of the British Government with the people of the Transvaal, characterizes the war as a calamity to his country and a reproach to the Government. He stated that the more he had studied the correspondence the more convinced he had become of the blunders in the negotiations and of the possibility of a pacific settlement through tact and good faith, and in the same

speech he further denounced the claim of suzerainty "as at variance with the facts and a breach of national faith."

The Afrikaners were in the possession of the Orange Free State and of the Transvaal by conquest and by purchase from the different tribes which inhabited the country, and after 1877, and up to the time of the communication of Mr. Chamberlain, July 13, 1899, the British Government had recognized the validity of the treaties of 1881 and 1884 and had treated the South African Republic as a free people and an independent state. Still, in a communication by the Colonial Secretary, on the 28th day of August, 1899, in again referring to the question of arbitration urged by the Secretary of the Transvaal Government, for the purpose of settling the franchise controversy, we find him still urging the right of Great Britain to paramount power over the Republic. He said:

"Her Majesty's government also desire to remind the government of the South African Republic that there are other differences between the two governments which will be settled by the grant of political representation to the Uitlanders, and which are not proper subjects for reference to arbitration. It is necessary that these should be settled concurrently with the questions now under discussion, and they will form, with the question of arbitration, proper subjects for consideration at the proposed conference."

In this communication it was again clearly indicated to President Kruger and his secretary that the question of paramount power was not to be submitted to arbitration and was not to be considered. This closed the discussion. There was nothing further for the people of the Republic to consider without a complete surrender of the rights previously granted to them by the treaties under discussion, and which they could not surrender without loss of their national individuality and without becoming subjects of Great Britain. This they refused to do and the communication was followed by the ultimatum of President Kruger.

It is said that this ultimatum was premature, but let it not be forgotten that during the time the question of the rights of the Uitlanders was under discussion between the two governments, the British government was preparing for war, she was marshaling her forces upon the frontiers of the Republic; and President Kruger, as a condition of further consideration of the questions involved, required the government to remove her forces from the borders of the Republic and notify the Secretary of State, within the time named in the ultimatum, that this would be done.

No reply was made to this ultimatum by the British Government

for the reason that it was stated to be an insult, and the Boers without delay assumed the offensive.

The great tragedy is now on and it appears that the British government is confronted with a condition such as she has never before known since the American Revolution and the surrender of Cornwallis to Washington; nor in the whole course of her history has she been at such a pass. Unprepared for war, with many of her troops slain and others made prisoners, she may demonstrate that Anglo-Saxon superiority is only superior when right, that might does not make right, but that right makes might. This imperial ruler of the seas is now face to face with foes kindred in blood, religion and almost in speech, with equal resolution and courage, fighting not for conquest, not to enlarge the borders of the little territory in which they live, but for the protection of their honor, their independence and the life of the State to which they belong.

It is said that the Afrikaner stands in the pathway of the progress of the British empire in South Africa, and it may be inferred from the fact that the question of paramount power was settled by the treaties of 1881 and 1884 that this is the principal, if not the only, contention upon which the British government now bases its claim for the conquest and subjugation of the people of the two republics. But we have yet to learn that the fact that one nation is less progressive than another, or the fact that the British empire is more powerful than the republic, furnishes any legal or moral ground for depriving the people of these republics of their independence and natural rights. That the motive is conquest and conquest alone cannot be questioned. A member of the Cape Colony parliament, in referring to the connection of Chamberlain, Rhodes and Milner with the present situation, says that, after the ultimatum, Milner made the statement, "that he was bound to break the power of the Afrikaner in South Africa." No stronger evidence of the animus and purpose of the war or its injustice can be reasonably furnished.

Mr. Chairman, it is submitted upon the showing that the course of Great Britain in the Transvaal, from the time the country was occupied by the Dutch down to the present date, is not only wholly unjustifiable but is an unwarranted violation of international law.

It is said that when Lord Clive was accused of looting the cities of India he replied that when he considered his opportunities he was amazed at his forbearance. The only difference between this great promoter of British aggrandizement and power and the present ministry is that there is no longer any amazement.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question is now before the members of the Club. I am informed that by the courtesy of the Club the guests of the Club are invited to participate in this discussion, and I think that the rules will, judging from the interest in the debate, have to be rather strictly enforced. The speakers will be rapped down at the end of five minutes. The meeting is now in your hands.

MR. CHARLES SHACKLEFORD: I was somewhat surprised to hear the distinguished and able counsel for Great Britain say that we could not anticipate properly or rightly the course which Great Britain will pursue with the Afrikanders, the Outlanders or the Boers. Great Britain's career in this century brings the blush—ought to bring the blush—to every Anglo-Saxon in the world. Her career in India has been marked not only with blood, oppression and crime, but with disregard for all justice to the native population. The present Queen, whom we are taught to call "Her Gracious Majesty," has been from the time of her enthronement up to to-day engaged in bloody slaughter of the human race year after year and year after year. But three years ago at Omdurman in Africa 56,000 were slain. There were no wounded and no prisoners, and Kitchener was rewarded for his cruelty. The Queen herself applauded the act. Go to India. Do you know—I doubt if the Queen does—how India is ruled or misruled? Sixty thousand dollars a year put into the treasury of India as the result of the opium traffic, the opium raised on her own farms, manufactured in her own factories and sold for her own account. The dealers in it are licensed as we license the rum seller, and the dealers are fined if they do not sell a given amount of opium in a given time. She owns the lands of India, rents them out for the products of the soil, not for money; and when millions of her people even in her Jubilee year were dying from famine, emissaries were sent all over the United States begging money to buy provisions to keep them from starving. Not only does she claim all the lands in India, but all the waters about India. If you resided there and you should take a barrel or two of salt water to evaporate, that you might have salt for your food, you would be arrested, fined and imprisoned, for the government has a monopoly of the salt business and the men that need salt must buy it at the government price or go without. When her subjects over in India revolt against such oppression, such outrageous and infamous oppression and misgovernment, she arrests their leaders and ties them to the mouth of the cannon and blows their bodies to pieces.

MR. JOSEPH B. DAVID: I will try to get into the subject right away. I have heard it called "outlander" and "uitlander" and "itlander." I don't know which is correct, but it is apparently the outs who are trying to get in. Evidently the Outlanders have been educating themselves by the study of municipal politics in the city of Chicago. I take it for granted that a country that has given for the last 800 years a magnificent government to Ireland, can be well trusted to govern a few Dutchmen, and I take it that England can, with the aid of Providence, inject into Africa the same kind of civilization and religious liberty that the United States is going to give the Filipinos. Why, the only question at stake is the question of the dollar. England would care nothing about the Transvaal if it were not for the gold; and, judging from past experience of the noble government given to Ireland, I see no reason why the United States should not intervene and assist Great Britain in conquering the Transvaal, because while we are in this civilization business we ought to go at it right. What is the use of stopping at a few negroes? Why not go to all benighted nations? Why not start at Russia, and when we get through with Russia we might go to Germany. Why not give to these monarchies the beneficent influence of our modern civilization? Why we know what the whole purpose of this thing is. It is not to give them citizenship. It is to destroy the institutions of the Transvaal. I don't care whether the Boers give the natives of England or those under the protection of Great Britain citizenship or not. If it is a part of their government to deny them the right to citizenship, the world has no right to say aught against it, because Great Britain, once in control, will use the same methods she has used in every government. Talk about taxation without representation! Mr. Thompson says that that is what the trouble is—taxation without representation. When did Great Britain ever give any country representation? What country that she has conquered has she given a voice in her affairs? What do the millions of inhabitants of India have to say in English affairs to-day? Why they put them on the police force, just as we are putting the natives on the police force in Cuba. But we can talk and talk and talk till the crack of doom, the inevitable is bound to come. The Boers may make a fight, as I have no doubt they will, to the last ditch, and their cause may be justifiable, but Great Britain will civilize them the way we have civilized the Filipinos—by killing every one of them.

HON. JOHN F. FINERTY: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Sunset Club: As I entered the room after a brief recess my ears were assailed by the violent expressions of an orator who was then

on his feet, who uttered the most uncharitable sentiments, and, speaking of civilization, seemed to need a civilizer to come and civilize him. I am not accustomed to hear such unparliamentary language, having had the honor to serve in Congress, where they are all Sunday school teachers; and, if no better argument can be used for the subjection of the Boer republic than to kill every one of them, why there is no need of proceeding further. I have heard the very eloquent argument of the able devil's advocate on my left. I regret I left my copy of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* behind me to-night. I am consequently obliged to address you without the aid of notes or any of the modern concomitants of civilization and oratory. I have to speak to you simply, as it were, on the spur of the moment, taking advantage of the rough angles of the preceding speakers' arguments, in order to climb up to some degree of common sense speaking.

I was not aware of the great philanthropic spirit of Great Britain until I heard my friend, my distinguished fellow-journalist, enumerate all her virtues. To listen to him you would imagine there was no one disfranchised in Great Britain. Listening to him, an innocent Englishman not familiar with his country's history—my friend Duddleston over there, for instance—might think that there were not two million Englishmen disfranchised on their own soil, who cannot cast a vote, which the meanest loafer on Clark street can do, and those disfranchised citizens are not the outcasts of society, but the rank and file of the British nation. The same conditions apply in Scotland, Ireland and in Wales. The franchise of England is not even extended to its own people, and I do not see why any advocate of England should go around kicking because the English can't belong to two countries at once. A man can't be a Boer and at the same time be an Englishman. He might be an Englishman and also be a boor. I think up to date, as far as the annihilation business goes, the Boers have the best of it. A mule now can't bray at Natal without an English battalion laying down its arms. So far England has met nothing but a series of disasters in the Transvaal. Certainly the glory of the British army has not been enhanced, and people who found fault with General Joubert for having begun the campaign sooner should only find fault, him because he did not begin it soon enough. The situation to-night in the Transvaal is very much the same as that which provoked the retaliation of our revolutionary ancestors on the soil of Massachusetts. The English had not yet fired a shot except at the Boston massacre of 1772, but the minute men of the State of Massachusetts did not wait for them to begin. Paul Revere made his famous ride,

the bells were rung, the colonists turned out and fought, and everybody said then it was madness for the American colonies to face the might of the British empire. It is never madness to fight for a grand principle. The might of the British empire, when wrongly directed, is as impotent as the might of the giant who sought to bully the Hebrew boy five and twenty hundred years ago; and no matter how powerful may the empire be, "Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just."

We know the sacrifices of the men of the Boer blood. We know how they opened the dykes of their native land and let in the sea rather than give it up to the invaders. The descendants of those men who fought under William the Silent against the power of Spain have still the old heroic blood, the old heroic blood that defied the might of the power then occupying the place of the British empire, the greatest colonizer of that time, and in spite of all the power of Spain, we know that Holland came out victor, and not alone that, but she lives to-day as a nation with ships and colonies, and we know that she swept the English channel with her broom. We know that she threatened England in the Thames. We know that she is a heroic nation that does not quail before numbers, and as surely as the sun of victory shone upon the Greeks at Marathon, so surely shall the God of battles give his power and his might on the side of those who are right and weak. I believe in the Boers and their cause. Whether they fail or succeed, the glory of this conflict is theirs. They have lowered the flag of England; they have trodden her armies to the dust. They deserve our respect, and if we were men like the men who freed the slaves and the men who in 1812 punished the insolence of England and in 1776 wrested liberty from her, not an American voice would be raised against the cause of the Boers to-night. How are we seduced from this sympathy with the oppressed race? We are told there is a friendship felt for us by a land beyond the sea. I ask any gentleman here to-night to give me a specific fact showing that friendship before our own great Admiral smote the Spanish fleet in Manila Bay. Never a foreign power stretched a hand to us. Do you say that England did? I say no, and there isn't a man here to-night can prove that she did. You go on a false theory, a false assumption. The English colliers gave their coal to the Spanish fleet as well as to ours. The Boers are fighting the cause that our great-grandfathers fought for. They are reasserting the doctrine of 1776. There were slaves then on the American soil. There are no slaves now. Does slavery exist on the soil of the Boers? Who complains of it? Only the men who are greedy to grasp their gold. Why,

gentlemen, we might as well come up here to my eloquent Devil's advocate's country, we might as well come up here to the Klondyke where we are now squabbling about an imaginary boundary line. We know that it looks like a waste of rock and ice and timber, but we know that there is gold there. We might as well send up a lot of our people there to cure the Canadians, to run them out of the Klondyke and say that it belongs to us, because at least it is on American soil. England has no right except by the strong arm to sieze the soil of the Boer, and I impeach the accuracy of the gentleman by the testimony of his own statements. I impeach him by the chief conspirator, Joseph Chamberlain himself, who no later than three years ago was the champion of the Boers, in the House of Commons, as quoted by Sir William Vernon Harcourt in a speech published broadcast in the Chicago papers within a month. Let these gentlemen come down to facts and figures. Yes, the chairman stated the truth. Last century it was Asia. England didn't rest until she drove the French out of Southern Asia. Does franchise extend to her three hundred millions of Hindoos? Isn't there a military minority there? Don't 67,000 English white troops keep down 300,000,000 Hindoos? The Hindoos haven't a voice or vote. And then talk of your military minority! Don't they in my native country keep 26,000 men and their armed police there, a military minority, over a disarmed nation, where a man can't own a gun without going to the penitentiary for five years; and talk of your British philanthropy! These facts may be strange to your ears, gentlemen. I regret that they are so. I hope there are plenty of Englishmen here, because I am telling the truth and I know of no people who need to hear it more. I am glad of the opportunity of uttering this last sentence before I sit down.

MR. JOHN VENEMA: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Sunset Club: As a guest of the Sunset Club this evening I am very glad now to avail myself of the hospitality that you have extended me which has enabled me to listen to the able arguments that have been presented on both sides.

Commenting on the first speaker's oration, I desire to state there is no such classification as High Dutch and Low Dutch. There may be High and Low German, but there is no such thing as Low Dutch. Commenting on Mr. Finerty's speech, I desire to state that the people of the Transvaal are fighting for more than we did in 1776. The people in 1776 fought for independence that was not yet theirs, but the people in the Transvaal are seeking to protect and defend an independence that they did have. I desire further to state that

the British press, innocently or otherwise, has grossly misrepresented the people of the Transvaal, their character, their habits, their government and their capacity for government, and their attitude towards the Outlanders. I desire to further state that certain papers in Chicago, in fact all over the country, who copy these editorials from the English papers, are also grossly misrepresenting the condition of the Transvaal; and however that may be, as I look at it the question is simply this: Have or have not a free and independent people the right to govern the internal affairs of their own country? To my mind, to the mind of every American, there can be but one answer to this question and that is an answer that is unmistakably in the affirmative. It is not necessary for me to go into the history of the Transvaal. That has been already fully gone into. Suffice it to say that in 1852 the people in the Transvaal were guaranteed absolute freedom. The intervening history between that and 1884 you are all familiar with. In 1884 a compact was entered into between the people of the Transvaal and England whereby the people of the Transvaal were given absolute freedom. The only condition that was imposed was that England would have the right to supervise their external relations. The Transvaal could not enter into any foreign relations except with the Orange Free State except with the approval of England. That the Transvaal has not violated. I think it must be admitted that legally England has no right in the premises. The strongest argument that can be advanced, and I think it is a poor and flimsy one at that, is that England ought to exercise control in South Africa. It has been charged that these people in the South African Republic are unprogressive. It has been charged that, notwithstanding the Outlanders greatly outnumber the Boers, they refuse to teach the English language in their schools. It is also charged they are ignorant and narrow minded. For the sake of the argument grant that to be true. Why, does that excuse England for trying to dispossess them of that which is their own? Does it give England a right to ask these people to surrender their inalienable rights? Further, does it justify England in the eyes of God or of man in depriving these people of their lands. If an Outlander isn't satisfied with the country of the Transvaal, isn't satisfied with its government, in the language of President Kruger, why doesn't he go elsewhere. The country belongs to the Transvaal. The Boers have the right to manage the internal plans of their own country. These people have been driven farther and farther into the interior. They finally located in what we term the Transvaal, or the South African Republic. There people finally thought they would have a rest, where they would be unmolested by

the British or by any other foreign power. The names they call a great many of their places indicate this. Freiburg, meaning Free Rest; Rastburg, meaning Rest Hill. These people are God fearing, they are frugal, they have homes, they have schools, they have churches, and the church records show that they maintain at this present day seventy-five missionaries among the native Kaffirs and other native tribes, and yet some of our divines here have the audacity through the medium of the press and through certain magazines to defend England's course, on the ground that she is extending civilization and Christianity. It seems to me it might be well for these ministers to devote a little more time to their Bibles and to the facts in the case rather than to parade their ignorance in the press and to promulgate their barbarous ideas.

With reference to the question of taxation without representation I desire to say merely this, that we have the same thing in our country. A foreigner in this country who has property will be taxed the same as a resident. and there is no reason why he should not be.

MR. LOUIS F. POST: It seems to me that the last speaker has presented the exact issue that is involved here. This is not a question of whether the Boers have been politically angelic all through their natural existence. It is a question whether England has the right to do now what she has been attempting to do. She can base that right only upon two propositions—either upon her treaties or upon conquest. Now, does the other side propose to maintain her right to conquest? Then they abandon this question entirely: Is England's course justifiable? Can it be justified in international law? I don't intend to argue that part of it. What right has England under her treaties? There are two treaties with this Transvaal nation, the treaties that have been spoken of here. One of them used the word "suzerainty," giving England the title of suzerain. The minister who negotiated that treaty is on record as having written at the time instructing that the word suzerain was not used in its particular sense, but used as a word to signify the general supervision which England extended over the Transvaal. Then came the second treaty in which the Dutch insisted the word suzerain be withdrawn, and the new treaty didn't give to England any power whatever except a veto over certain treaties. With the Orange Free State the Transvaal was free to make any treaty it might choose. With foreign nations the Transvaal was free to make her treaties, except that Great Britain had the right to veto any treaty within six months, and that is all the power the English had. There were rights of residence and rights of travel, such rights as this country may obtain

in other countries, but no other rights, and none of these reservations have been in any way violated. The whole question had come down to the question of political rights. In the beginning it was contended there was violation of a treaty, but the English ministry has abandoned all those claims, and made the whole question turn on the question of political rights. Finally, having set up what they claim as a finality, the Boers answered, accepting all their propositions as to political rights, provided they would drop their claim of suzerain and permanent power over the Transvaal, provided they would agree to arbitrate other differences and would agree not to regard this as a precedent. Upon these conditions the Transvaal accepted all that England demanded. On the 28th of August a letter went from England to the Transvaal on that proposition. I defy you to give any other interpretation to that letter except it was intended as a diplomatic refusal of the Boers' proposition; but when Mr. Chamberlain, only a few days ago, was questioned in Parliament in regard to the answer, and was asked by a Tory member whether the government intended to accept or reject, Mr. Chamberlain said: "We wished to be conciliatory. We wished to accept all of this as far as we humanly could, and there was nothing in it that we could not accept except the arbitration proposition." And then in answer to another question he said that that wasn't worth a war. So that he did not know that he had rejected the Boer proposition, but the Boers understood, as all the rest of the world did, that he had rejected it, and England said, "We will now frame terms of our own, and will compel you to accept them," and then the Boers seeing soldiers coming, as they were, in thousands from England, all landing in the country, pushed up into Natal; the Boers said "You must stop this military movement while these negotiations are in progress or we will declare war, and if you don't withdraw your troops from these strategic positions within forty-eight hours we will regard you as having declared war;" and I, as an American, believe there was nothing else for the Boers to do but what they did do; and that this is an aggressive war on England's part.

MR. HENRY MEMORY: I should like to ask the gentlemen on the other side how long they think a country would exist which denied franchise to two-thirds of its inhabitants? I make no excuses for England, because I know she has a great many faults, but I wish to know if it is possible for a country to exist any length of time if she denies the franchise to two-thirds of the population who pay the taxes? Suppose these two-thirds were all Irish, how long would they be satisfied? Why, you gentlemen that have been

born in this country, and whose ancestors were born here, allow the Irish to come here and run the whole country!

MR. FINERTY: The English appear to be doing it now, Mr. Chairman.

MR. MEMORY: I know there are a great many criticisms due to England regarding her conduct in many things, but no country can possibly exist for any length of time without the franchise being given to the people, and whether this war had taken place or not, it is only a question of time when there would have been such a rebellion in the country as would put down the Boers or any nation which denied people their rights.

MR. SCHUYLER: Just the same as they do in England to-day.

MR. MEMORY: The largest portion of the people have the franchise in England. There are a few of them that have not, and that is one of England's shortcomings. I would have them all have the franchise. I say that every man is entitled to a vote, and we in America are especially strong on that one point, that people who obey the laws and pay taxes are entitled to vote.

MR. W. J. STRONG: No citizen of any country ever claimed the right to vote unless he took the oath of allegiance to that country. Would anybody be allowed in America to exercise the right of franchise if he claimed allegiance to the British crown and held his citizenship here for revenue only? It seems to me—and I am very glad that somebody has assisted the gentleman in this matter, because he needs assistance very badly—it seems to me that Mr. Thompson has given up the whole proposition in one sentence in his speech. It is the epitome of the career of the English nation, and I will quote his sentence as I wrote it down. I am astonished that a man of his erudition should utter such a sentence. He says: "Would you stop the tide of civilization sweeping over South Africa in search of gold?" Civilization in search of gold instead of humanity and Christianity, and he objects to these Boers, for what? Because they made the scripture the basis of their laws. When has American citizenship ever denied the binding force of the scriptures or that they are the basis for our laws? Don't we know that the basis of the laws of England is the Holy Bible? Don't we know that the laws of the United States rest on the scriptures? Is that a fair criticism of the Boers, because they make laws on the scriptures? Now, it seems to me that the whole question is this, that

any man cannot help but recognize, that in the history of the English nation they have done this one thing. How did they conquer India? Why, a chartered company, the East India Company, went in and explored India, and they used the whole military force of England to enable a few aristocratic Englishmen to get rich. What is it in South Africa? The South Africa Charter Company has brought on this war to enable Cecil Rhodes to get gold. Is it justifiable to use might to crush out right? They have no right to the elective franchise. They are not taxed without being given representation. The Boers have proposed to them that if they will faithfully hold up their hands and forswear allegiance to the British crown, then they can exercise the right of franchise within five years, and still they refuse it. Now, what is the whole question except the exploitation of the South African country and the sweeping of civilization over Africa in search of gold?

MR. F. A. BROWN: Mr. Chairman, Mr. Strong has well said the question has been argued almost entirely from one side to-night, and I have no doubt that the government of Great Britain will feel under great obligations to me for saying, together with the honorable gentleman who opened the debate to-night, a word in her favor. As I understand the question, we have discussed only two or three phases of it this evening. There are some fourteen counts, as we lawyers say, in the indictment of Great Britain against the Transvaal, and I think on about twelve of those counts I am with the Transvaal, but I think on two of them I am with the English, and those two are, first, the treatment that the English are accorded in the Transvaal, their being deprived of their property without due process of law, and the second count in the indictment is the removal by the Transvaal of the judges without any reason at the whim and caprice of the president of that country. As Joseph Chamberlain said in the House of Commons a short time ago when he was being bitterly scored, turning to the people who had attacked him he said: "You gentlemen sided with the United States and gave her your warm sympathy and support when she interfered with Spain in her government of Cuba when her own citizens were not being interfered with, because she claimed she owed it to humanity. But you gentlemen are standing up and letting your own flesh and blood be deprived of the rights that Englishmen have the world over, without raising your hand in protest."

MR. THOMPSON: No wonder my friend, Mr. Finerty, said he

was uttering strange truths to you. The trouble is he was uttering things not based on facts.

MR. FINERTY: Get your facts, old man!

MR. THOMPSON: In the first place one of them was only half a fact, that of the surrender of the British troops—for half of those British regiments were Irish.

MR. FINERTY: Not a bit of it, they were cockneys, every one of them.

MR. THOMPSON: The attitude of my friend, who has favored me with the title of Devil's advocate here to-night, is an illustration of the attitude he takes on every question in this country. Himself and Richelieu Robinson were strolling through the corridors of Congress once. Oh, I hear him groan now. Those were the sad days when my friend was as eloquent an orator on behalf of Ireland as he is to-night on behalf of the Boers. As they were walking up and down they bethought themselves of their duty to the American Republic, and Mr. Robinson said to Captain Finerty, "You better go in, and see what is going on inside." My friend John went in and came back, and Richelieu Robinson asked him what it was. He said "Some damned American business."

MR. FINERTY: I beg leave to say to these gentlemen that that is another thumping English lie.

MR. THOMPSON: Gentlemen of the Sunset Club, after I had concluded what I thought was as dry an argument as I could make here to-night—my friend said it was dry, and I acknowledged it was dry—but it was based on facts and on the general course of history, and after I was through my friend moved that we take a recess in order that we should be a little bit relieved from the--

MR. FINERTY: Tedium.

MR. THOMPSON: Tedium; that is it. There never has been a day in the history of these two races when the Irishman has not furnished the word, and I think I would myself prefer to hear Mr. Finerty talk than talk myself, because I would get more enjoyment out of it.

MR. FINERTY: The enjoyment is mutual, old man.

MR. THOMPSON: It has been the pleasure of my life in Chicago for the last eighteen years to have had just this attitude with my friend.

MR. FINERTY: Oh, speak of Oom Pau!; don't speak about me.

MR. THOMPSON: Oh, I am only following your course. But in regard to the facts that have been presented to you to-night you may have noticed that the other side were as careless of their facts as the Boers have been careless of their treaties with England. Suzerainty was never given up over the Transvaal. The word was scratched out, the thing remained. They talk of the republic as a nation. It never had the representative character of a nation, not even in the Orange Free State, its neighbor. The English created them both. I think we all admit it. I think we are here as the result of the English desire to possess the earth. But when the gentlemen speak of England being tempted into the Transvaal by gold, they ignore the fact—you see we have to come back to these facts—that all the history of the Transvaal, up to and including the London convention of 1884, preceded the discovery of the gold fields of the Rand. What right, by discovery, had the Dutch in Africa? Did the Dutch discover Africa? Did they discover Cape Colony? Did they discover any part of that country? Not any more than they discovered the Hudson or America. At what date did Henrik Hudson enter the Hudson river? Somewhere about 1600. Who were the discoverers of America, the real discoverers? We have Columbus, we have Cabot, we have Jacques Cartier, who preceded him by over a hundred years. This idea that the Dutch discovered any country, except a few islands over in Oceanica, is false. It is not a fact, gentlemen. That is the trouble with this whole argument on the other side. It is not based on fact. The celebrated slaughter which is held up here at Schlackter's Neck was caused by the justice of England to a Dutch farmer who had murdered a slave, and it was done in resistance to justice. I am surprised to hear that brought up here.

Gentlemen, I don't know that I have anything more to say to you to-night. Only this one thing, that you shall read and learn what the truth is about South Africa. Do not take it from such statements as we have heard here to-night, statements that are contradicted by the trained observers of the world, statements that are based merely on the say so of an individual; for instance, the statement that Americans have no sympathy with the Outlanders.

The fact is that the Americans in South Africa have thrown in their fortunes with the Outlanders.

Now, gentlemen, in regard to the character of the Boers. If we can take the character that has been given them to-night as true, the next time we hear of them trekking it will be with wings, to the eternal city.

Mr. Shackleford moved that the Sunset Club tender its thanks to Mr. Howard L. Smith, the retiring Secretary, for his splendid management of the Club during the past two years.

The motion was seconded by Mr. W. J. Strong and unanimously adopted.

The meeting then adjourned.

JOSEPH W. HINER,
Secretary.

NINETY-NINTH MEETING

DECEMBER 7, 1899

ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY PRESENT

SUBJECT:

The Rights of Union Labor

CHAIRMAN: JUDGE ELBRIDGE HANEY

ADDRESSES BY

MR. FREDERICK P. BAGLEY
MR. NORMAND S. PATTON

MR. EDWARD CARROLL
MR. O. E. WOODBURY

GENERAL DISCUSSION BY

MR. JAMES A. MILLER
MR. SIGMUND ZEISLER
MR. HERMAN KUEHN

MR. KENNEDY

MR. E. A. DAVIS
MR. A. W. BONNER
MR. THOMAS MORGAN



NINETY-NINTH MEETING.

Held at the Palmer House, Thursday, December 7th, 1899.

One Hundred and Eighty Present.

"The Rights of Union Labor."

THE SECRETARY: The labor trouble in this part of the country has become so serious that it behooves the Sunset Club to take it under consideration. The strike habit has even extended to the clerical profession, if we may judge from an incident I read of the other day. It occurred in one of the small interior towns of this State. There were a good many religious people in the town, but not enough of any one denomination to support a church, so the Baptists and Congregationalists and Methodists and Presbyterians united and built a church, with the understanding that its pulpit should be occupied in rotation by ministers of those denominations. Matters went on very smoothly until one day the ministers happened to get together. Their arrangement with the church committee was that each minister should receive \$5 for every service conducted by him. They were all contented until they began to exchange views on the subject of clerical compensation. They soon reached the conclusion that they were not getting enough pay, and forthwith decided that their compensation must be doubled. So they organized a union and sent their walking delegate to interview

the church committee. He informed the committee that unless the pay of the ministers was increased to \$10 per service there would be no more preaching. The committee conferred with the congregation, and after some deliberation they decided not to accede to the demand of union labor; so the supply of theology was shut off. These people were good, orthodox people, and of course did not feel justified in resorting to non-union theology, so the church was closed. Afterward a man from Chicago, who was also a member of the Sunset Club, I understand, happened to be in town over Sunday, and, being a member of the Sunset Club, of course he wanted to go to church. He went to the church, and, finding it locked, asked the reason. A citizen told him the story of the ministers' strike, and summed it up by saying, "It simmered down to a question of hell or ten dollars, and we would not give up the ten."

I am not sure but that describes the situation in a good many labor troubles. Now, if this sort of thing continues much longer, you may pick up your paper some morning and read that there is a general lockout of doctors, and that the lawyers have gone on a sympathetic strike. Very likely it occurs to some of you at this moment that the lawyers are incapable of such a manifestation of sympathy, and perhaps some of you are inclined to think that a lockout of doctors and a strike of lawyers would benefit the community by giving the patients a chance to get well and the clients a chance to get rich. If any of you have such notions you must follow them out for yourselves, for I observe that there are a good many lawyers and doctors here, and I don't feel safe in following that line of thought any further.

We are very fortunate to-night in having with us a distinguished member of this club, who has kindly consented to act as chairman of this meeting. He needs no introduction to the Sunset Club or to any Chicago audience, and I am very glad indeed to turn the meeting over to Judge Elbridge Hanecy, of the Circuit Court of Cook County.

JUDGE ELBRIDGE HANECY: I was admonished before I came to this dinner this evening by your very witty secretary that it was not the province of a presiding officer of the Sunset Club to talk; that the secretary would tell the stories and crack the jokes. He said: "Now you can sit up there as a figurehead, and you can call the Joseph Davids and others down."

The question before you to-night for discussion is one that has agitated this and every other large community in this country for a great many years. It is possible that in the near future every man

who works ora living except the lawyers—and they work the other fellow—will be in a union, and every man who takes a contract to do work and employs labor, skilled or otherwise, will be in an organization; and then the law will establish a tribunal that will settle the difficulties between the two organizations in case of controversy, and when that time comes the strike and lockout will be things of the past. I cannot enlighten any of these gentlemen who have so completely prepared themselves to enlighten us on the question under discussion, but it seems to me that the final result will be what I have suggested just now. Every other controversy that a laboring man or a business man has may be settled in a tribunal provided by law, a judicial and legal tribunal selected by the people of this country, and when either party fees himself aggrieved he does not attempt either by a strike or a lockout to injure the other party, but he goes to the proper tribunal for the settlement of his rights.

I have been forgetting the admonition I received from your secretary. The order of exercises is that each side of the question will have thirty-five minutes. The principal speakers may divide that time between them as they think best. After that the question will be open for discussion by the members of the club in five minute talks. Mr. Frederick P. Bagley will open the discussion and will be followed by Mr. Edward Carroll. Then Mr. Norman S. Patton will follow him, and Mr. O. E. Woodbury will follow Mr. Patton. After that the question will be open to Joseph David and Charlie Wright and the other orators and humorists of the club. It is hardly necessary for me to introduce to you to-night the first speaker of the evening, Mr. Bagley.

MR. FREDERICK P. BAGLEY: Before I start my paper I want to speak of an attempt—I might say dastardly attempt—on the part of organized labor to monopolize a branch of productive industry which, up to the present time, it has not sought to control. I want to do it now so that I won't forget it, because it is one that interests us all. In looking over the report of the meeting of the common council of a city located within five hundred miles of Chicago, I discovered this attempt on the part of organized labor to introduce itself into a new line, and I think it will be better described in the official record that I have, which is as follows:

"Alderman Hunter said he had a very delicate matter to bring to the attention of the council, but a very important one. It had a direct bearing on the future of industrial life. He moved, seconded by Alderman Cook, that hereafter all children born within the municipality should be union made and with the union label in a

conspicuous place, and that all children not bearing said label should be strangled forthwith. Carried."

At the outset I desire to state distinctly my personal attitude toward unionism. I am a firm believer in legitimate unionism. I recognize that only by its means has it been possible for the workman to obtain, from the average employer justice, fair hours of work and living wages. I recognize further that in a city like Chicago at the present time the best interests of the employer as well as of the employed are conserved where a union exists, provided it is intelligently and honestly managed. When, however, a union acts illegally or is manipulated from selfish or sordid motives I am too good a friend of that union not to oppose it to the best of my ability.

In considering the rights of union labor one is compelled to include the rights of every citizen of the United States, be he employer or one of that vast army of non-union laborers, for the right of one is the right of all. Neither the Constitution of the United States nor the laws of the State of Illinois confer special privileges upon any one class of people. If any person, corporation or organization arrogate to itself privileges that are not allowed to others, they do so in defiance of the laws of the land. In so far as they go beyond what the law allows, to that degree are they a menace to the stability of the Commonwealth. In the eye of the law union labor does not possess a right that you and I do not have. As a matter of fact, union labor in Chicago, as represented by the Building Trades Council, is assuming prerogatives that are not claimed by any organization, corporation, State or government civilized or semi-civilized. Its only parallel is that of an absolute despotism where the people are slaves to the whims and caprices of the ruling power.

I infer that I am to address you upon these assumed rights which, from practically unrestricted use, union labor has come to consider its lawful prerogatives. I do not think you intended me to speak to you of the privileges of citizenship given us under our laws, some of which in Chicago exist on the statute books and no where else. Take for example the freedom of contract.

It is supposed that a person is privileged to buy where and of whom he pleases. A gentleman lately building a residence on the North Side had this delusion. For reasons satisfactory to himself he placed the order for the cut stone work with a firm that had it cut outside of Cook county. When the stone arrived at the building the walking delegate of the stone-cutters' union refused to allow it to be set; as it had not been cut in Chicago, and threatened to tie up the job if any attempt were made to set it. The matter was compromised by the owner paying the union \$150 for his temerity and an

additional \$80 for the services of two stone cutters to rub a tool over the moulded surfaces, as they had been cut by machinery, the union not allowing the use of planers in Chicago. Was this highway robbery or a tariff for revenue only?

Unionism was originally caused by the oppression on the part of employers and was the only means the employed had to protect themselves from the arbitrary and unjust acts of the employers. In Chicago, as elsewhere in this country, the union began with the simple aim of reducing hours and increasing wages. At first the union did not extend beyond its particular trade. There was no central organization. Later the Building Trades Council was formed, a body composed of delegates from the unions of trades working on buildings or furnishing material for buildings. To-day it is a compact and highly organized body having one or more salaried officials. It has, however, no financial responsibility. By joining together these unions were placed in a position to compel any firm or trade to comply with their demands, no matter how exacting, arbitrary or ruinous. For example: In July the Boiler Makers' Union made a demand on their employers, which, if granted, would have made the cost of production so great that boilers made in Chicago could not be sold elsewhere in competition with boilers manufactured in other cities; the Chicago market not being large enough to furnish work for the factories located here, the employers had no alternative but to fight.

The next logical step was an affiliation of the Building Trades' Councils of the country, a movement which I believe has already taken place. This gives a union power to enforce its edicts wherever a Building Trades' Council exists. Do you realize what a tremendous power that is? There is hardly a large firm or industry connected with the building trade in Chicago which has not a branch in other cities. Suppose, for example, a union here which, like all unions, is without financial responsibility, makes a demand on a firm which the latter feels is outrageous or will cripple its business, the firm must either yield or have all its branches in other cities shut down and its men, wherever they may be, pulled off the buildings. Do you know of any other organization or government that, without process of law, would dare take such measures?

In Chicago the unions affiliated with the Building Trades' Council have fixed the number of hours a man shall work.

They have set the amount of wages he must be paid, whether a good workman or a bad one.

In some trades, as the plumbers, steam-fitters and sewer-builders they have limited the amount he shall do in a day's work; in

one trade—the plumbers,—cutting his productivity practically in half on certain classes of work.

In the stone industry they have forbidden the use of certain labor-saving machinery.

The use of apprentices has been restricted in some trades, in others prohibited altogether.

The sympathetic strike has been introduced. To all these measures the unions have a perfectly legal right. Individuals and organizations may legitimately say at what price and on what conditions they will sell their products. Whether these restrictions are or are not beneficial to unionism; how a man's moral nature is affected by receiving full pay for a half-day's work; whether uniform pay without regard to quality will increase or diminish pride and skill in workmanship; whether the domain of individual effort, inventiveness and enterprise will or will not be narrowed; what effect these rules will have upon the industries touched by them. Such questions as these, however thought-provoking, are not within the province of the present discussion, since they are within the legal rights of unionism.

Supposing, however, that some individual or firm declines to purchase the product the union has for sale—labor in other words—at the price and on the terms demanded by the unions of the Building Trades' Council and thereupon this body take measures to enforce its demands, we then arrive at a point where unionism has outstripped its legal boundaries. If he who sells has a right to set his price, he who has money to buy should also be left free to accept or reject. Here, then, is the crucial point of our discussion, viz.: The means and methods employed by the unions affiliated with the Building Trades' Council to force employers to their terms.

They dictate of whom and, in some cases, in what city one shall buy his material, the penalty for violation being a fine; or they prohibit the use of such material by their members, and in case of its enforced use by means of non-union labor the risk of its destruction is entailed. In a large office building that was being erected in the city nearly a thousand dollars' worth of interior wood finish was destroyed one night by being "gouged." The vandalism was done because the material came from a factory the union did not recognize.

They dictate as to which member of the community shall be privileged to work, saying to one man, you may work and to another you shall not work except at the risk of being maimed for life or of death itself. Does the first man carry a permit from the President of this free republic, from Governor Tanner or from Mayor Harri-

son? No, he simply possesses a working card from the Building Trades' Council. He may have just landed and be unable to speak English, but if he has ten dollars to pay to the laborers' union he can secure a permit to work in Chicago. The second man, though he may have been born in Chicago, if he happens to be unwilling or through misfortune too poor to pay for his permit, there is no building in the city of Chicago upon which he will be allowed to work.

They dictate to the employer whom he shall employ, violation being visited by the possible injury or maiming of the person employed and the risk of the destruction of the material used by the non-union men.

A contractor, who had been forced by the unreasonable demands of the union in his trade to employ non-union workmen, was having work erected on the North Side by non-union men. A gang of union men assaulted these workmen, and with a hammer destroyed about five hundred dollars worth of work. The union man who headed the attack was arrested and his case was defended by a lawyer who states on his card that he is "Attorney for the Building Trades' Council."

They dictate how many of the community may learn a trade, and in one building industry—the plumbing—forbid that any person in this city of two millions inhabitants shall learn that trade. This must have been the origin of the phrase, "a lead-pipe cinch."

Not content with directing private enterprises they attempted to place Chicago itself under their orders as in the matter of the laying of the corner stone of the postoffice. Would any other organization of men or capital have dared to face this city and the head of this nation as did the Building Trades' Council with the demands it made at that time?

These acts are illegal. Have owners, employers and non-union men no rights in the building industry of Chicago that this community, for its own good, is bound to conserve and protect?

What are some of the things organized labor is attempting at the moment in Chicago?

It asks that police protection be withdrawn from non-union men.

"Resolved, by the Federation of Labor of Chicago, That the chief of the police of the city of Chicago be directed not to furnish policemen for the purpose of patrolling any office, shop or factory where a strike is in progress, and be it further

"Resolved, That police officers shall not molest or disturb any citizens when engaged in expressing their Constitutional rights at any place within the city of Chicago, and further, that the chief of police be instructed not to furnish policemen as escorts to individuals to and from their homes or places of abode to the places where they are working when a strike is in progress at the latter place."

I wish to say in justice to the Building Trades' Council that Mr. Carroll, as the official head of that organization, did not sanction these resolutions.

It desires that the sewers of the city shall be built of brick, which are not so good for the purpose and are more expensive than the concrete sewers adopted by Paris, London and Washington.

It seeks to have the sewer work of the city done by day work in order to save the city money.

It finds its way to the councils of the Board of Education to the end that no man, tax-payer or not, who could not show a card with the official endorsement of the Building Trades' Council, could help to construct a public school building in this city.

It attempts to dictate to the Illinois Telegraph and Telephone Company what material it shall construct its tunnel of. (*Cement and Engineering News*, November, 1899.)

From the foregoing it is seen that the unions of the Building Trades Council,

- (a) Control and limit the production of what they have to sell.
- (b) Are in a position to advance the price of their commodity to the highest point the consumer can stand.
- (c) Prohibit competition from other parties.
- (d) Control the raw material in the form of apprentices.
- (e) Restrict human rights.

We have here, then, a financially irresponsible organization having all the attributes of a trust and with a power possessed by none; openly interfering with individual and property rights in a manner which would not be tolerated an hour if attempted by any government or city administration; composed of men unused and untrained by business and financial responsibilities to measure adequately the results of the changes and innovations imposed by their organizations, and lacking the experience which would be required to manage the smallest of the industries for the conduct of which they assume to fix conditions. Is it safe for this community that a trust of this magnitude should not be held in check?

The following is an extract from a speech delivered by J. W. Haynes, General Secretary of the Knights of Labor, at a recent trust convention held in this city. It is the arraignment of the trust of capital by the union. It might equally well be the protest of the non-union laborer against the trust of organized labor:

I shall discuss this question ("Trusts and Combinations") only as it bears upon the broad field of human rights, and deny at the outset the moral right of any individual, or combination of individuals, to so monopolize any natural field of industry to such an extent as to be able to dictate the conditions which govern the lives of that portion of society that gains its maintenance by the exercise of productive industry in that particular field.

I further assert and maintain that these great combinations are an assault upon the inherent and Constitutional rights of the citizens; that the real and vital advantage to be gained is the despotic control over labor.

The methods of the trusts are the methods of the invader, the conqueror and the despot.

I assert boldly that they (trusts) are the enemies of society, and as such should be destroyed.

The good of society demands that the productive energy be developed to the greatest degree possible; that the fields of industry be not circumscribed, and that free access be guaranteed and preserved to all who require or desire to exercise their productive labor in such fields. The controlling of any field of industry by any individual, or combination of individuals, is contrary to the declared spirit of our Constitution.

By reserving the inherent rights and interests of the individual and defending the dignity of citizenship it is hoped that the citizen may be protected from the tyranny of more fortunate individuals and classes, and the oppression of unjust conditions and influences which may assail him, and be left untrammelled in his pursuit of that degree of happiness to which he may aspire.

The trust, being an aggressive combination for purely selfish objects, attacks the individual, and by overthrowing his mutual rights seizes upon his field of opportunity and production, appropriating them to its own personal advantages.

To sum up the whole, this policy of the trusts is an aggressive invasion organized against the best interests of society and destructive to our free institutions and popular government. It is too often the instigation of fraud, corruption, tyranny, mercenary selfishness and slavery, and is the enemy of the elevation of the race and the equality of man.

The causes that have encouraged and permitted the Building Trades' Council to pass from legitimate to illegitimate trades unionism are:

First. Because it was a highly organized body doing business with an unorganized mass, for such the employers have been to the present time.

Second. The subserviency of the local politicians to the supposed vote-controlling ability of this organization.

Third. The ignorant sentimentalist.

It is characteristic of organizations that they carry within themselves the latent seeds of their own destruction. To the thoughtful observer it appears as if the three most disintegrating seeds that any organization could carry have germinated in the Building Trades' Council. They are:

First. Politics, and all that the term implies to our American democracy.

Second. The unrebuked lust of money.

Third. Self-seeking on the part of individual unions. The largest manufacturing company in this city in its particular line was delayed ten days in the erection of an iron stack while the Boiler-Makers' Union and the Structural Ironworkers' Union fought as to which union the work belonged.

While the disintegrating process is sure, it is slow, and many of us may be crushed before it completes itself. There are, however, other and more desirable remedies:

First. Strict enforcement of the present laws protecting the rights and person of the individual.

Second. Legislation covering all trusts.

Third. The organizing of the employers; organization to modify organization.

Besides the two principal actors, employer and employe, who are now in the throes of the difficulty, which must somehow or other be adjusted, a third, not less important, has entered, to whom both should defer. I mean the enlightened consumer. To him both

should listen, asking neither for praise nor blame but for the exercise of that friendliest of offices, intelligent criticism.

THE CHAIRMAN: The other side of the question will be presented to you by the president of the largest labor organization in the world, Mr. Edward Carroll, who will now address you.

MR. EDWARD CARROLL: The building trades of Chicago seem, according to the last speaker, to be to blame for all of the labor troubles. I want to explain the cause of the organization of the building trades council. It was the arbitrary greed and the arbitrary methods of the contractors of this and other cities. In 1897 and 1898 the owners of a certain stone quarry in Indiana sold cut stone in the city of Chicago for 15c. per foot. And those owners are Chicago people, who are supposed to have the welfare of this great city at heart. The object in selling the stone at that figure was to freeze out the owners of other Indiana quarries. The consequence was the small owners in the State of Indiana were forced to abandon their quarries, and they are now filled up with water. Having destroyed competition, the owners of the quarry first-mentioned are reaping a harvest from cut stone. At the present time they are getting from 20c. to 25c. per foot. I don't think there would ever have been any discussion of the labor question here this evening if the labor organizations had agreed with the contractors this spring, as they have agreed with them in the past, to work for none but members of the Master Masons' Association. We had an agreement of this kind up to last spring. It provides that we are to work for none but members of the contractors' association, and, in return, that association will employ none but members of our association. That means that if one of my neighbors, knowing me to be a mechanic, sought to employ me, I would have to say to him, "No, I can't do that work for you; you will have to go to a contractor." If the agreements were carried out to their logical conclusion as the bosses' association wanted to carry them out, we could not work for anyone but a member of the Master Mason's Association. In 1897—and this shows that the labor organizations are not to blame for the stagnation of building in Chicago—there was an agreement between the excavators and the Master Masons' Association, whereby if an owner wanted to put up a building and did the excavating himself, when he let his other work out to the Master Mason's Association the excavator who was in with the combination of the Master Masons' Association would come along and compel the people that were figuring on the mason and other work in the building to add three hundred dollars to the price of the mason work.

This was done, and we have no proof at the present time that it is not being done every day in the year by the Master Masons' Association. In 1898 anybody that wanted to put up a building could buy stone for \$7.50 per cord. At the present time you have got to pay \$12.50 per cord. You will notice the difference there in the rise of material from 1898 to 1899. This will show you also the rise in steam-fitters' material. The following figures show the increase in the cost of other building materials:

PRICES IN NOVEMBER, 1898.

1-inch pipe	\$ 2.70	per 100 feet.
2 " "	6.19	" 100 "
4 " "	16.79	" 100 "

Fittings including Tees, Ells,
Nipples and Unions.....\$1.52

1-inch Brass Valve.....	\$.76
2 " " " " " " " " " "	2.16
4 " Iron " " " " " " " "	6.48

Steam Radiators, 12 cts. per sq. ft.

PRICES IN NOVEMBER, 1899.

1-inch pipe	\$ 7.47	per 100 feet.	\$ 4.77
2 " "	16.20	" 100 "	10.01
4 " "	53.50	" 100 "	36.89

Fittings including Tees, Ells,
Nipples and Unions.....\$2.65 \$1.13

1-inch Brass Valve.....	\$1.12	\$.46
2 " " " " " " " " " "	3.20	1.04
4 " Iron " " " " " " " "	9.60	3.12

Steam Radiators, 21 cts per sq. ft. .09

During the year a trust has been formed by and between the Pipe Manufacturers.

During the year, Crane Company, of this city, has bought the National Tube Works Company.

During the year, the American Radiator Company formed a trust with all other radiator dealers of this city and vicinity, thus controlling the price.

Steamfitters' wages were increased 25 cents per day on September 16, 1899.

Steamfitters' helpers' wages have remained the same.

PRICES OF STRUCTURAL IRON.

PRICES IN 1898.

Beams, 18 inches and over.....	\$1.55
Beams, 15 inches and under.....	1.45
Zees.....	1.45
Angles over 6 in. x 6 in.....	1.55
Angles under 6 in. x 6 in.....	1.45
Plates at.....	1.90

PRICES IN 1899.

Beams, 18 inches and over.....	\$2.50	\$1.05
Beams, 15 inches and under.....	2.40	.95
Zees.....	2.40	.95
Angles over 6 in. x 6 in.....	2.50	.95
Angles under 6 in. x 6 in.....	2.40	.95
Plates at.....	3.15	1.25

The following shows the increase of galvanized wrought-iron pipe—8 sizes being taken from a total of about twenty (20) sizes as used by plumbers:

Size No. 1 cost 1898 2½c. per foot.

" " 2 " " "	2¾c. " "
" " 3 " " "	3¼c. " "
" " 4 " " "	5¼c. " "
" " 5 " " "	6¾c. " "
" " 6 " " "	8c. " "
" " 7 " " "	11½c. " "
" " 8 " " "	34¼c. " "

Cor. size cost 1899 8c.

" " " " "	8½c.
" " " " "	9½c.
" " " " "	13c.
" " " " "	18c.
" " " " "	22c.
" " " " "	24½c.
" " " " "	87½c.

Cast Iron Soil Pipe, the great amount of which is used in construction of Plumbing work, has advanced as follows:

A size which cost 10¼c. in 1898 cost 25c. at present.

A	"	"	"	14c.	"	"	"	33c.	"	"
A	"	"	"	19c.	"	"	"	45c.	"	"
A	"	"	"	22c.	"	"	"	54c.	"	"

BATH TUBS.

Cost \$16.25 a year ago; now costs \$21.00.

" 19.00 " " " " 29.00.

" 21.00 " " " " 30.00.

" 23.50 " " " " 33.00.

A closet that cost, in 1898, \$7.50 now costs \$10.50.

Plumber's brass goods have advanced since this time a year ago an average of 25 per cent.

Upon investigation we find that the cost of labor used in the manufacture of above articles has not increased on an average of 10 per cent. While the material has advanced on an average 150 per cent., the journeymen plumbers' wages have not advanced over 7 per cent. in the last ten (10) years.

The speaker who just sat down referred to a resolution which he claims was adopted by the Chicago Federation of Labor here a few weeks ago. I was not a delegate to that federation, but I know the resolution came up but was not adopted. The matter never came into the Building Trades Council. The other matters, I will leave to my colleague, Mr. Woodbury. Thank you, gentlemen, for your attention.

THE CHAIRMAN: The contractors' side of this question was presented by Mr. Bagley; the architects' side will be presented by Mr. Normand S. Patton.

NORMAND S. PATTON: As a former member of this club I am well aware how large a proportion of wit has been mingled with the wisdom of the many brilliant programs to which you have listened, but I feel this evening that if we can evolve even a small amount of wisdom and help to form a just public opinion, we may well reserve our wit for some other topic, and settle ourselves down to a serious consideration of this question, which has already disturbed the peace, and threatens to check the prosperity, of this city.

In order to put myself in the place of a mechanic in one of the building trades and determine what would be my views as member of a trades union, I began my study of this problem by a review of what I conceive to be my rights as an architect and a member of an architect's union; then an application of the "golden rule" compels me to accord to a member of a labor union all the rights I demand for myself as a member of an architects' union, and no more.

A few years ago some architects of this city wished to take more radical steps for the advancement of the profession than were hought compatible with the traditions of the ancient and honorable American Institute of Architects, therefore they organized the Chicago Architects' "Business Association." I myself was one of these restless spirits, who, unhampered by traditions and leaving questions of æsthetics and high professional attainments to the older organizations, started in for "*business*" only.

In co-operation with the chapter of the institute we secured a State law requiring every architect to procure a license to practice, which license can be secured only by passing an examination by the State Board of Examiners of Architects.

These actions, by what may be called our Architects' Union, have led me to concede to the laborers and mechanics in the building trades:

First. The right to organize for the benefit of their own trade. .

Second. The right to represent and speak for that trade.

Third. The right to protect the public and the members of the trade from unskilled labor by the requirement of a reasonable standard of attainment for admission to that trade.

Fourth. We architects have for years had a scale of minimum charges which we urge, but do not force, upon our members, and I must admit the right of trades unions to stipulate a reasonable minimum price for each grade of labor, and if this charge be really a fair minimum, and not more nearly a maximum, then I would justify vigorous measures on the part of the union to secure its enforcement.

After the passage of the State License Law for Architects the by-laws of the Architects' Business Association were amended to open the association to every licensed architect. This was an important change, for with it we set out to be the whole profession of architecture in this city and met a select portion of the same. This change brought about a new relationship between the members and non-members of our association, and we began to say to the outsiders, "We are working for the good of the whole profession; we spend time and money, and you get part of the benefit. You should join us and help with your money and time. It is your duty to join us, and if you refuse to help us, you are shirking your duty."

Thinking of this attitude of our association, by which it comes closely in line with a trades union, I have modified my views greatly in regard to the position of non-union labor. Formerly I was impressed with the right of the individual to independence of action and the efforts of the unions to coerce non-union men seemed unmitigated acts of tyranny. This opinion, I imagine, is at present held by a large part of the public, and for which the union, by their acts

of violence, are mainly, if not entirely, responsible. But, thinking of unions, not as they have been but as they ought to be, I find myself driven by the logic of events, as well as by the experience of my own profession, to the conclusion that unions are a necessity, at the present time, in the professions, the various lines of business and the building and other trades. If this conclusion be granted, then there is no escape from the further conclusion—that it is the duty of every man to join the union in his particular trade, business or profession. Civil governments have come to be recognized to such an extent that they are freely given powers to enforce obedience, but in a voluntary trades union there comes in the difficulty of compelling membership and enforcing obedience. To those inside the union who are earnestly working for the good of the whole trade, it must be an aggravation to see their efforts thwarted by the refusal of others to join the union, and the feeling of hostility to non-union men arises very naturally. We cannot admit, however, that it is right to use wrong means even to further a good cause, and acts of violence have, by alienating public sympathy, delayed, rather than hastened, the triumph of union labor. The only right and safe road to success lies in gaining the support of the public, and particularly of those who are the employers of labor. I believe that contractors and architects are ready to grant every reasonable request of union labor, and that when the subject is presented properly they will use all their influence to support the unions. For it is evident that if we admit the necessity of trades unions, the sooner such unions include the total membership of the trades the sooner we shall reach a proper adjustment between all the parties interested. If we can eliminate the quarrel between union and non-union labor on one side and between union and non-union employers on the other side, we shall have gotten rid of one element of disturbance and can then give attention to the relationship of organized labor to organized capital. Where both capital and labor in a given branch of business are fully organized, and each comes to respect the other, there is reason to hope that they can adjust their mutual rights to the satisfaction of themselves and with justice to the community.

Having thus disposed of the non-union man by getting him into the union, and having made peace with the contractor, it would seem that union labor would have its rights and live in peace and prosperity.

Unfortunately a third foe has arisen to threaten the rights and check the prosperity of union labor, and that foe is not from without, but from within.

I need only remind this audience that the struggle for the liberties of the people that has marked the annals of European history and crossed the Atlantic to meet fuller success on this continent, has not been a fight against foreign foes, but a resistance to the oppression of the home government. The struggle has ever been of the people against the tyranny of king or aristocracy, until it has come that we have written constitutions and laws to guard the citizens against the oppression of the government as well as against the misdeeds of their fellow men.

As the citizen has his rights as against the government, so union labor has its rights as against the labor unions, and these are the rights that seem most in danger at the present time.

There is a conflict in the building trades between the Building Contractors' Council, representing the employers of labor in the various branches of building, and the Building Trades Council, representing the laborers and mechanics in the building trades. The Contractors' Council has issued a notice that after the first of January, 1900, it will not recognize the authority of the Trades Council in six particulars. Let us examine these to determine whether the rights of union labor are more threatened by the contractors or by the managers of the labor union.

First. The contractors will not recognize any limitation as to the amount of work a man shall perform during his working day. Without taking the time to enquire to what extent the unions have limited the amount of work a man may do, it seems unquestioned that there is an effort being made to prevent mechanics from doing more than a certain amount of work in a day. This is done for the apparent purpose of making the work "go around." If such limitation is a good thing for the building trades, then the principle should be capable of a wider extension and other lines of business should profit thereby.

Suppose we should limit the capacity of freight cars, and the size of locomotives, and limit the speed of the trains and the amount of freight that a man shall load in a day, and suppose we limit the amount of cargo that vessels shall carry and thus avoid the necessity of deepening the river, we shall thereby increase the number of engineers, brakemen, vessel captains, sailors and laborers that must be employed. Then let us limit the amount of work that may be done in a day by the tailor, the shoemaker and the baker, and we shall keep more of these trades busy, but we will drive commerce away from Chicago and there will be fewer buildings to be erected, and the price of food and clothing will be higher for the union mechanic in the building trades, and the rent of his home will be

raised because of his own acts in raising the price of building, and the end will be that the union laborer along with many others will be starved out of Chicago.

A few days ago I noticed on the map of Illinois, near the southern end of the State, a town by the name of Patton. My curiosity was aroused as to the population of this town, and I found it set down as 47, in an atlas that gave the population of Chicago as a million and a half. Why did 30,000 people come to Chicago for every one that went to a town with such a beautiful name as Patton? Because nature provided this region with a soil where great crops can be raised, and with a lake on which unlimited commerce can sail, and with a river which could be used as a harbor, and with a climate which permits greater activity of brain and muscle than is possible at the southern end of this State, and also because men came here who raised great crops and built great vessels and railroads to carry them, who dug the river wider and deeper and have not gotten through with it yet; because men, taking advantage of the bounties of nature, have done more work here than was ever done in the same time in any one place on the face of this globe. Chicago is the last place in the world where a union workman should be denied his right to make the most of himself. To limit the amount of work a man may perform is to make the minimum wage also the maximum.

The condition of the workman in the United States is better than in even the best of European countries, largely because of the hope of improving one's condition, the possibility of the individual workman, by his intelligence and industry, raising himself above the average level, and thereby not crowding others down but by his example lifting them up with him. To place restrictions upon the amount of work that union labor shall perform in a working day is to violate one of its most sacred rights.

Second. The contractors oppose restrictions in the use of machinery. It seems a waste of time at the close of the century which has done more to elevate the condition of labor than any ten centuries before it, and has accomplished this advance by the introduction of machinery, to argue the question of the relation of machinery to the employment and wages of labor. I will pass at once to the conclusion in which I am sure this audience will concur, that the limitation of union labor to hand work when machinery can be employed is an invasion of its rights. If a union mechanic wishes to run a machine, it is no argument against him to prove that ten men working by hand, can produce only as much as the one man and the machine, and that, if the machine is run, nine men must find other employment. All improvements in business and manufacturing

methods involve changes that cause loss to individuals. These changes affect invested capital as well as labor, but the losses are temporary while the gains are permanent. As far as I can learn, the objection to machinery is directed entirely against its use for dressing stone. The unreasonableness of this attitude is apparent when we consider that the use of similar machinery for the working of wood and iron meets with no opposition.

Third. The contractors object to any interference with workmen during business hours. It would seem sufficiently clear that when a man has entered upon a day's work, that it is an interference with his rights as well as those of his employer for the officials of a union to interrupt his work.

Fourth. The contractors object to the sympathetic strike. The contractors in any one trade may well object to having their men called off because of a quarrel which does not concern their trade, but when the contractors for the various branches of work have united in presenting an ultimatum to the building trades, it is hardly consistent to object to the trades acting as a unit, and that, I take it, is the essence of the sympathetic strike. It is a matter of policy rather than principle whether each trade settle its questions between employer and employee, or whether the whole building business be considered as one.

The sympathetic strike is a powerful weapon in the hands of organized labor, but it is not necessarily wrong because powerful. It is this weapon which has forced the contractors to unite. The sympathetic strike can be met only by a combination of employers in all the trades included in the strike.

Now that the contractors have formed a council, I believe it will be in the interest of building to let this council represent the employers in all the building trades and deal only with the Building Trades' Council as representing organized labor, and in this case the right of the latter to call a general strike cannot be denied.

In saying this, however, I do not mean to encourage strikes, a discussion of which would lead too far from our present subject.

Fifth. The contractors object to restrictions upon the use of any manufactured material except prison-made. The contractor provides the material and the union labor shapes this material and puts it in place in the building. The contractor certainly has the right to buy what material he wants, and when and of whom he wishes, and it is no legitimate concern of the mechanic who works upon this material as to where or how it was manufactured. Union labor, neither in the capacity of its individuals nor as an organiza-

tion, has any right to dictate to its employers in matters which do not concern its own services.

Sixth. The contractors deny the right of the unions to prohibit the use of apprentices.

If this question relates to an attempt to employ boys to do work for which they are not fitted, it comes under the head requiring proper qualifications for a certain kind of labor; but if it is an attempt to reduce the number of mechanics in a trade by refusing an opportunity to boys to learn that trade, so that a union man may not train his own son to follow his trade, then it is an infringement of the rights of union labor, as well as contrary to public policy.

If we architects should attempt to manipulate the license law as to prevent architects outside this State from practicing within it or to prevent any young man from becoming an architect, who can qualify himself and pass the examination, we could not expect to hold the support of the public for a moment. We have made no such attempt, and no support can be expected from architects to any proposition to prevent the wide opening of any trade to the young men who choose to qualify themselves therefor.

In conclusion, let me make a summary of the rights of union labor as I have set them forth:

First. The right to organize.

Second. The right to represent a given trade.

Third. The right to protect the public and themselves against unskilled labor.

Fourth. The right to prescribe a minimum wage.

Fifth. The right to work without limitation as to the maximum that one shall do in a working day, or the maximum pay to be received.

Sixth. The right to the aid of machinery.

Seventh. The right to work without interference during the day.

Eighth. The right to train one's son to follow our trade.

And I maintain that labor union has no right—

First. To dictate to its employer as to the material which he shall buy or the machinery he shall use.

Second. To prevent others from learning his trade.

Third. The union laborer who is lazy or incompetent has no right to expect his industrious and competent brother to come down to his own pace and pay.

And finally, in the practical question before the building trades of this city, the demands of the contractors' council, with the possible exception of the objection to the sympathetic strike, are in no way subversive of the rights of union labor, but on the contrary will relieve union labor from a tyranny which is already felt by its more intelligent members.

THE CHAIRMAN: The last regular speaker of the evening will be the President of the Carpenters' District Council, which is composed of all the carpenters' unions in Chicago. Mr. O. E. Woodbury.

MR. O. E. WOODBURY: After the arguments of our worthy opponents, and the more extensive arguments of the public press for the past six or eight weeks, I cannot understand how it is that a body of intelligent, law-abiding citizens will tolerate the presence of the gentlemen who are prominent in the deliberations of that terrible institution known as the Building Trades' Council of Chicago. Mr. Carroll has shown you why the building business is slacking down. There are many other reasons. I cannot attempt to discuss the labor question in all its phases to-night. Time will not permit. I want to say, in starting, that we do not claim that the Building Trades' Council has reached perfection, or that everything it ever did was right. We believe as a rule it is right, and we know that the existence of that organization is justifiable.

I charge the public newspapers of the city of Chicago and the combination of contractors and material men with being more responsible for the ceasing of the building industry of the city of Chicago than all of the building trades' councils that ever existed in the United States. If there has been a crime done against Chicago and its citizens these gentlemen are more responsible for that crime than the Building Trades' Council and all of the business agents.

Mr. Carroll has only cited a few statistics. Time does not permit us to go deeply into them. Here is another evidence. A letter from Hennessy Brothers & Evans to a prominent stone firm in this city, telling them that they must discontinue sending stone to a certain building in this city for which they had contracted to furnish the stone, because Hennessy Brothers & Evans had been fined two hundred dollars by the Masons' and Builders' Association for purchasing stone from a firm outside of the combination. They talk about the terrible arbitrary action of the Building Trades' Council, but they don't say anything about these arbitrary actions. They don't say anything about the causes that lead up to the Brickmakers' Alliance strike. They don't tell you that the Brickmakers' Alliance this spring were compelled by the brick manufacturers of this city to go over and strike the non-union yards on the North Side, where they were weak, and were not ready yet to enter into trouble or a strike. They were compelled by the manufacturers to do it, and afterwards in support of that strike they came to the Building Trades of Chicago and asked our assistance, and we gave it. What was the next

move? Immediately these scab brick yards on the North Side belonging to the same association of bosses as the union yards on the South Side, called a meeting. They say they didn't do anything, but we know after the meeting that the union jobs on the North Side where the work had been stopped because we refused to handle non-union brick, could not buy any union brick in the city of Chicago, and a strike had to be called on the union yards to compel them to furnish union brick to the union contractors that bought ninety-five per cent. of their entire output. The strike was successfully prosecuted, and we got what we wanted, but of course the general public blamed the Building Trades' Council and the Brickmakers' Alliance, and there is nobody else to blame for the shutting down of the building industry at that time.

Let me read an item from a recent issue of the *Warren Daily Chronicle*, Warren, Ohio. I suppose some of you newspaper men know that this stuff is written up in Chicago and sent out. What they publish here is rank enough, but what they publish elsewhere is a good deal ranker. Excuse my grammar. I am nothing but a common five-eighths carpenter.

"The Chicago labor war broke out afresh as the result of the failure of the long promised conference between special committees appointed by the Building Contractors' Council and the Building Trades' Council respectively. The representatives of the contractors were on hand, but the other committee did not appear. This disgusted the contractors, and the gauntlet will be thrown down to the labor unions."

Such a committee was never promised, and we never failed to meet anybody that we agreed to meet. This misrepresentation is to deceive the people all over this country and make them think there is a bigger war and strife here than there is. It is to villify the labor organizations of this country and keep the non-union man who is out from coming in. Is this fair? They charge to labor some unfair means. They say when a union man, imbued with the union spirit that has won every battle for human freedom, rises in his righteous indignation and punches a scab on the snoot, who dares to take his job when he is on strike, that he is doing something illegal and wrong. But when they lie about us, when they shoot us down in the public highways, as they have done without any warrant of law, and the criminal escapes punishment, that is the other side of it. We contend that the labor organizations, like other combinations, are the necessary outgrowth of the competitive system under which we live. The unions are doing what lies within their power to educate the masses up to where they will get out from the thralldom of the wage slave system under which we labor to-day. What are the other fellows doing? Throwing stumbling blocks in the way; not helping.

The judge, in his introductory remarks, spoke of arbitration. It has been spoken of by the other gentlemen. The judge, of course, desires a legal tribunal where all these questions will be settled legally. The lawyer is going to have it nicely fixed. I happen to belong to one society where the code was drawn by a lawyer, and I know the fellow that happens to transgress the law of that society requires a lawyer to defend him. Now, if we only had a lawyer to draft the rules and laws of the building trades and the Building Trades' Council, we undoubtedly would need lawyers to represent us in every little grievance. There are questions that can be arbitrated and there are questions that cannot. Arbitration has its good points and it has its bad points. In the building line experience has taught us that in many instances when we seek to arbitrate by means of a cumbersome arbitration committee, the work that the grievance exists on is completed before the machine gets into motion. Mr. Bagley says he believes in union, but yet he believes in the demands of the contractors' council. This is simply to go back where you were before you had a Building Trades' Council and a central organization, and struggle along with your independent unions of different trades, and bump up against the boss and lose and continue to lose. One of the great bones of contention is the limiting of the day's work, another the fixed wages. The wages have been fixed by labor organizations, and, so far as lies within our power, are enforced. They are a minimum scale of wages. In almost every instance the scale set is a minimum scale, not for the lazy fellow spoken of by my friend, the architect. My experience is that there are not many lazy fellows who work in the building business. I know in my business the lazy fellows don't get much to do. But we fix a minimum scale of wages. The contractor makes that minimum the maximum, and hence he grades the best man by the minimum wages and then grumbles about the lazy loafers, as he calls them, who are not competent to do a big day's work, because they must have the minimum wages too. What you lose on the lazy fellow you make up on the rusher that you put on the work to lead the gang, doing two and three days' work in one in many instances, as is done in many of the building trades. I know to my positive knowledge in the carpenter business that men to-day are doing more than double what they did fifteen or twenty years ago in a ten-hour day, and it is not only degrading our trade, but the man who purchases the building is skinned, simply because the men cannot do their work properly. We lose the work we would have had if the work had been done in a perfect way; and if the work is done right the contractor does not lose anything. He would make just as much

as he does now. The only thing is that through lack of organization among the contractors and because there are too many scabs among them, as there are in the building trades, they are constantly cutting the price of work and attempting to make it up, in some instances, by a compact with the material men on the other side and then charging it all up to organized labor. So much for the rusher.

In our business where a man used to hang eight or ten one and three-eighths inch soft pine doors in a day, fifteen or twenty years ago, to-day they are fitting and hanging from sixteen to twenty veneered oak, Georgia pine, and in some cases one and three-eighths inch solid oak. No man ever lived that can do it and do it right. The bricklayer that used to lay from 800 to 1,000 brick today now lays from 2,000 to 3,000. I was talking to a prominent contractor the other day, and he told me that every building he constructed had walls six inches thick, and his men threw in from 4,000 to 4,500 brick a day in those walls. A man cannot leave the scaffold to go down for three or five minutes and attend to nature's call. If he does, he is so far behind the line when he comes back that his employer comes along and gives him his time. I know that in almost every business in this city there are leaders, who lead the gang, and are paid the scale and sometimes a few cents more. They are given pretty steady employment, and a fellow who don't keep pretty close in sight of them don't stay on the job. We have made no limitation on our day's work, but we ought to. We passed a rule to fine the rusher, and we found a great howl about it. We have fined just one rusher \$5 since that rule was in existence, now over two years. We will fine more of them. I want to draw attention to a communication which came through the Building Association to the Contractors' Council, from there to the Building Trades' Council and was referred to our council. They go on and state they are in favor of the eight-hour day, 42½ cents an hour, and a half holiday on Saturdays and almost everything we ask for, and then down at the bottom they give us an ultimatum that absolutely contradicts everything they say they are in favor of. They make an absolute demand for the total abolition of the sympathetic strike, which is the basis and foundation of the Building Trades' Council, and without which the Building Trades' Council might as well not exist. If there are grievances between the building trades and the contractors, if there has been hasty action; if there have been misunderstandings between them, we must both profit by the mistakes of the past. I think that perhaps committees from the two different sides, viz., the employer and the employes, can get together and discuss these things and better understand one another. I don't think there is

any necessity for the ceasing of building this spring, not from the standpoint of organized labor or on account of its arbitrary action.

We have tried, in a number of ways, to get legislation that would help us along some of these lines, namely, an employers' liability act. We have never succeeded. To-day if a man who falls from a building and is crippled for life or killed, and a claim for damages is made, an insurance company fights the claim, and in most instances, only for the power of our organization the men would have been compelled to pay that insurance company themselves. I stopped one contractor from collecting 20 cents a day insurance from a gang of our own men this spring. There is one firm in this city that pays the employees damages when they become injured on its jobs, and it does not ask them to pay the insurance either. I will not mention the firm's name. One of its representatives is present.

I want to say, in justification of the methods of organized labor, that when labor seeks to control the operation of a machine, placing a union man to operate it, when labor tries to prevent child labor from taking the place of adult labor, then we claim we are doing something for humanity. I want to ask contractors and architects and material men what they are doing in this line. Are they doing anything? No, they look at it in a cold-blooded business light and they say, "Am I my brother's keeper?" We say, "Yes, to a certain extent you are your brother's keeper, or you ought to be. If you are not, we are." I want to ask you, when the machine and the child labor have displaced half the labor of this country, what you are going to do with the idle men? Are you going to drive them into Lake Michigan? Are you going to erect asylums for them? The question confronts you and you must solve it. We are trying in our weak and feeble and ignorant way to do something in that line. I want to ask you gentlemen what are you doing. These are questions that your busy minds do not have time to think about, but they are questions that you ought to think about, and sooner or later you must. If not, your child or grand-child may be caught and bitten by the same dog that is biting us, for the rich class is growing smaller every day and the poor class is growing greater.

THE CHAIRMAN: The question is now open for discussion in five-minute speeches by members of the club.

MR. JAMES A. MILLER: I notice what your chairman says about referring all matters to a legal tribunal. I would like to consider for a moment one of the laws on the statute books of this State. One of the laws is this:

"If any two or more persons conspire or agree together with the fraudulent or malicious intent wrongfully and wickedly to injure the person, character, business or employment or property of another * * * they shall be deemed guilty of a conspiracy, and every such offender, whether as individuals, or as officers of any society or organization, and every person convicted of conspiracy at common law, shall be imprisoned in the penitentiary not exceeding five years, or fined not exceeding two thousand dollars, or both."

That is the law in this State.

"The Wisconsin laws provide that, any person who by threats, intimidation, force, or coercion of any kind shall hinder or prevent any other person from engaging in or continuing in any lawful work or employment either for himself or as a wage worker, or who shall attempt to so hinder or prevent, shall be punished," etc.

The representative of the Building Trades' Council of Milwaukee attempted to prevent some non-union men at Waukesha from continuing work by saying, "You cannot build this building (the one the men were working on;) I will fight it if it takes all summer, and if your city will not protect us (the union men who were to take the places of the non-union ones) we will get the militia." The Supreme Court of the State held such language was sufficient to authorize a finding that the accused did "by threat, intimidation, force or coercion, attempt to hinder or prevent the non-union men from engaging or continuing in the lawful work or employment mentioned."

It seems to me that the Building Trades' Council, under the law in this State and the ruling of the Supreme Court in the State of Wisconsin, is engaged in an unlawful undertaking, because they do attempt by intimidation, threats, force and coercion to prevent the contractor from pursuing his business, unless he pursues it as they want him to. Now I would like to call the attention of the Building Trades' Council here to some words of a federal judge in a decision recently made. Judge Rodgers, of the United States Circuit Court for the Western District of Arkansas, said:

"Where a party of men combine with the intent to do an unlawful thing, and in the prosecution of the unlawful intent one of the party goes a step beyond the balance and does acts which the balance do not themselves perform, all are responsible for what the one does. In other words, in the pursuit by various parties of an unlawful conspiracy, each is responsible for the acts and doings of the others."

Now, that is a reasonable rule, when you stop to think of it. It is not a mere, harsh, arbitrary, technical rule which the courts have laid down and the statutes have established; it is a rule intended to prevent combinations or conspiracies to do an unlawful thing; and where there are many together it is often difficult to distinguish the one who does any particular act.

Now, I have not the least idea that the gentlemen of the Building Trades' Council imagine that they are doing any unlawful act and may be liable for some of the terrible crimes committed by some of their subordinates, and I would suggest, to settle that matter, that the Building Trades' Council and the Contractors' Council fix up an agreed case, taking in all of these questions, the right of the Building Trades' Council to organize with the different unions and monopolize the business of furnishing labor in Chicago, and to compel men to stop work under penalty of a fine, and submit that to the Supreme Court of this State. If they are a law-abiding association, it seems to me they will agree to that.

MR. SIGMUND ZEISSLER: May I, as an entirely disinterested party, representing neither the class of labor, nor the class of employer, define my attitude on the question under discussion. My only interest in the question is as an observer of social conditions, and as a citizen in common with all other disinterested citizens. No desire to please one side or displease the other side in this controversy can warp my judgment. I have always believed in a frank expression of honest convictions, and never has it been withheld for fear that possibly my words might some day come back to plague me, because—strange as it may sound, from the mouth of an American citizen—I have no political ambitions. The trouble is that any number of people have convictions on this subject, but fear to express them because both the side of capital and the side of labor represent a powerful vote.

Now, to come down to the question itself, I yield to no man in sympathy with the desires of the laboring classes to attain a higher plane of social standing and civilized living. I rejoice in the fact that the dignity and nobility of labor is becoming more and more recognized and established. I believe in the utmost freedom of contract and co-operation. I absolutely believe in the unlimited right of labor to organize, to form unions, to make those unions as strong as possible by all legitimate means; and to exhaust their efforts in getting unorganized members of the class of labor to come into their fold. I recognize their right to establish rules and conditions for the conduct of the members of those unions. I grant them the right to impose fines upon those who voluntarily join their organization and who violate any of their rules and conditions. I grant them the right to call off members of that union on a job if anything happens on that job that is contrary to the conditions and rules of trades unions. I grant them the right, by every legitimate method, to obtain a decrease in their burdens and an increase in the rate of their wages. I grant them the right to use the power of argument and persuasion to bring employers around to their views, and I will rejoice with them if their unions are so strong and the conditions of the labor market such as to bring the employers to yield to their demands. But suppose the employers don't yield to their demands. What then? Ah, there's the rub. Now labor unions say they have a right to strike. So say I, providing we understand each other as to the meaning of that word strike. If by strike you mean simply to leave the job; if by strike you simply mean to persuade other members of the same trade not to take the jobs of the striking laborers, then I say, yes and amen. But if you claim the right, as

was expressed here by Mr. Woodbury, even to the extent of "punching the snoot of a scab," I say that is assault, and the first step toward murder. Gentlemen, if the striking organization destroys property I say that is malicious mischief, for which the statutes of this State provide a term in the penitentiary; and if you go on picket duty and intimidate laborers and scare them away and beat them away from the job, I say you commit a grievous wrong, and it is the first step towards civil war.

And there is the end and limitation of the rights of union labor, and that limitation is set by the words, "freedom of contract." To every contract there must be at least two sides and the trouble I find with organized labor is that it always arrogates to itself the freedom of contract but denies it to the other side.

Now what arguments have we heard here to-night? The question that is proposed for discussion, "the rights of union labor" has hardly been touched upon, and certainly has not been touched upon, by the side of labor. The burden of their speeches was a complaint to the employer, "You're another." That is all. They say, "You are tyrannical yourselves; you have formed trusts, and you have raised the price of lead pipe and all sorts of things." Granted. I haven't a word of explanation or apology for their course, but that is not the question that we are discussing. If the trusts and combinations will resort to force in their attempt to make consumers buy their articles at a certain price, then we shall have a similar question to discuss, but I say so long as strikes are conducted by organized labor, by the use of force and violence, I am opposed to them. And so long as they use any other method than force and violence my sympathies are with them. And so far as the rights of union labor are concerned, I repeat they are limited only by one thing, and that is the freedom of contract.

MR. WOODBURY: I want to say that I never claimed that such a thing was right. I simply stated what sometimes occurred on both sides. I don't say it is right; I don't say it is legal. I don't want to be understood so for a minute.

MR. KUEHN: I am not a member but a guest of the club to-night. I would like to say a word from a different point of view than may have occurred to the gentleman who has just spoken. He says that if these lead pipe price-makers remain within the law and use no force their position is to be tolerated. I have no objection to that, particularly, but as a matter of justice, I want to say that the contrast between the position of the trusts which are powerful enough to make the price of lead pipe a cinch, and the

position of a labor organization does not hold good. The trust doesn't need to go and punch anybody's snoot, because the trust in that particular branch of business has got the government of the United States in league and partnership with it, and it is thereby enabled to make higher prices, whereas the labor union has no such partnership, but on the contrary, as appears, the most hearty animosity and hostility of the press which aids the trust and keeps it free from the need of punching snoots in order to get its lead-pipe prices.

MR. ZEISSLER: How about the law prohibiting the importation of contract labor?

MR. KUEHN: Well, that is one of the things, perhaps, that I had overlooked. But the discussion to-night has not partaken of the scope which I had assumed the debate would, which my genial host promised me I should have the pleasure of hearing, and I had no intention then of participating in it, and do it now only with a view of presenting another phase of this question, and that is that on the one side we hear of the selfishness of the laboring man, and on the other side we hear of the selfishness of the employer, and we marvel whether the world has fallen into that slime of hypocrisy that tries to make it appear that selfishness is a vice. Why should one party to a controversy charge the other with being selfish in a sneering or reproachful way when we know that the common sense of the world dictates that we should be selfish, and that it is no discredit to the employer to look out for his own interests, and no discredit to the employed man to seek to conserve his interests. We hear always of what each side is going to do for the public. The laboring man is going to protect the public from poor workmanship, and the employers are going to protect the public from extortion, and always the public is to be protected. Always by being manipulated and managed. It doesn't seem to occur to us to let the public alone, and that they will manage things pretty well if they are left free. And freedom may be the solution, after all, of not only this but of every problem that can come before enlightened people. Free trade is a phase that used to be regarded as very obnoxious, and I don't know but even to this day it is treasonable in Pennsylvania. But freedom of trade, freedom of exchange may solve this question and may establish where the rights of labor may be found, and it may convince the gentlemen who operate as managers of labor unions that it is the State Legislature to which they may appeal.

MR. E. A. DAVIS: The Building Trades' Council has been accused of conspiracy by one gentleman. I want to say that the or-

ganization I belong to had some trouble at one time with one of its members, or a man who had been a member at one time. He was working upon a building for a certain contractor in this town and the members of my association saw fit to quit working for this man until such a time as this workman was discharged. The man was discharged, and the contractor and the Hoisting Engineers' Association were attacked through the court. This fellow sued for a writ of injunction. The case came up in the court over which our worthy chairman happened to preside. Our side of the case, gentlemen, was never heard. They gave their side of the case and the court there ruled that labor organizations had a perfect right to compel their members to live up to their rules.

MR. A. W. BONNER: This discussion seems to have taken the character of individual statements. Now it was not my idea that you came here to-night to hear talk of individual grievances. It is a question of whether any set of men within any community of the United States has a right to bind themselves together for the purpose of depriving anybody who will not come into their organization from earning a livelihood in this community. That is the question. Mr. Zeissler took away some of my remarks by getting on the same subject. He got a little bit ahead of me. I am not very brash in getting up. Now I speak as a mechanic who learned my trade at plastering, as Mr. Carroll did. I afterward evolved into a tile-setter. The tile-setters have a union that doesn't allow an apprentice in the city of New York or the city of Chicago. You can't get into it. There isn't one in it to-day as an apprentice in the two largest cities in the United States. This is not a question of whether an individual contractor has committed an injustice to an individual workman or whether an individual workman has committed an injustice to an individual contractor. The whole question is, are the American people going to sit supinely down and allow a few men, 5,000 or 10,000 or 15,000 or 20,000 to boss and govern 2,000,000, and say, "You shall not do certain things except by our consent." I believe in organized labor for the advancement of labor, to do everything to advance them in their special line, to educate them to do anything that is within the province of an American citizen, but I deny the right of any set of men to bind themselves together and say they are bigger and greater than the whole country. I know Mr. Carroll. I don't know Mr. Woodbury. And I know that these men have got an organization which defies the law. It says to me as an employer and as a mechanic that I cannot put my son at the trade. I have four boys; I cannot put either one of them at it in this city unless I

settle with the union first. What right has any man or set of men to come to me and say that I cannot put my boy at a trade if I so desire?

I also differ with the judge. I claim that a man in a private business has a right to run that private business to suit himself without any arbitration or anything else. If it is a semi-public corporation where they have got franchises from the people, then I say the people's interests are involved in that, and there you may bring an arbitration, because all the people are interested, because they have given the corporation some rights. For instance, a street railway. We have a right to say that we shall not be discommoded by strikes or any differences with the company, but if I have a factory and it is my property, and I say to an employe, "I don't want you any more," there is no set of men in this country, under our laws or any other laws, that has a right to come to my factory and abuse and attack everybody that seeks to enter, even to the employers themselves. We have an instance where two unions differed about the gas fixtures in a building. It was at Wabash avenue and 29th street. They disagreed as to whether the gasfitters or the electricians should put the fixtures up. The owner decided for the gasfitters, and they put them up and the electricians tore them down and jumped on them. There is not a member of the Building Trades' Council in the city to-day who is more in favor of a union than I am, and I have been hiring men since 1880, and I never had a man strike until we were compelled to lock out, after they forced us to get together and do it. It is no argument to say there are trusts. A trust doesn't go out with a piece of lead pipe and a hammer, like they did on Wilson avenue, and pretty nearly killed a man because he didn't belong to the union. One man on the West Side goes and does the business himself and his head is split open with a piece of gas pipe. They even come around and say that an employer shall not use tools himself. Did you ever know a sane lot of men getting together and forcing on a lot of employers such a rule as that? You must remember that in eight cases out of ten the employers in the building trade have been mechanics themselves, and in pretty nearly every case, except where he has had a rich relative die, he started out in business with very little money. What was his capital when he started? His own labor.

MR. THOMAS MORGAN: We are discussing to-night an irreconcilable and irrepressible conflict, a conflict of antagonistic interests that will not be clearly defined to-night any more than it has been defined in previous discussions. Only a suggestion that

can be carried away here and there. In a similar discussion Lyman J. Gage, when he was president of the World's Fair Directory, said the trade organizations have secured the prevalent rate of wages and conditions by years of struggle, hardship and sacrifices, not by law, but by the free play of human kindness. All of the terrible things that you have been charging against each other are covered with the cloak of human kindness. It is a nice way to put it. He said it was fortunate to society that these questions had never entered our legislative hall, for whenever they had they had been promptly voted down. His attitude was one of satisfaction, and the conditions were identical with those that exist to-day, and here the architects and contractors declare that the situation is absolutely insufferable, and they are going to have a revolution. But revolutions only come once in awhile; they are luxuries that are not usually enjoyed. We will have time before you settle this thing to ask a few questions and get a few answers. Let me ask you, what has happened? Have all these trade interests suddenly become rich, and are they leaving the tenements in the back streets and moving into the mansions that they have built on the avenues? Have they done that? Have they suddenly become millionaires? Have they gone South to enjoy the winter? Are they boarding at the Palmer House and paying \$1.50 for their meals—the same as we are? Are their extravagances, if you please, going to ruin this city? Do you expect that next year they will all go to Paris? Now it is absolutely absurd to say that out of the 20 cents, 30 cents, 40 cents and 50 cents an hour that they are getting, with the best lead-pipe cinch that they can get, they are going to ruin the city. They are not going to ruin the city. No, but I tell you what they are going to do. Pressed by you they are going to do that very thing that Lyman J. Gage said they would do. They will go to the legislatures and they will tell them, "We citizens who are brothers of Rockefeller in the church, who are fellow-citizens of Mark Hanna at the polls, as laboring men under the law, we are neither brothers, nor citizens, nor men, but we are simply things, commodities that are bought and sold in the labor market at the highest market rates."

MR. KENNEDY: As a member of the Building Trades Council, I desire to correct a statement made by Mr. Bonner. He said that the tile-setters do not allow any apprentices in the city of Chicago. I want to say as a member of the Building Trades' Council that I sit alongside of a man in the organization that calls himself a tile-layer's helper, which simply means a tile-layer's apprentice.

I also want to correct another statement he made. He cited the

case of men on the South Side jumping upon gas-fixtures. That case was tried in Judge Baker's court two weeks ago and the men were acquitted. That certainly ought to be enough to satisfy any man in this room that the men were not guilty. It satisfies me.

Adjourned.

JOSEPH W. HINER,
Secretary.

ONE HUNDREDTH MEETING

JANUARY 17, 1900

ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-TWO PRESENT

SUBJECT:

What Shall We Do With the Philippines?

CHAIRMAN: PROF. HARRY PRATT JUDSON

ADDRESSES BY

COL. J. H. DAVIDSON

REV. JENKIN LLOYD JONES

GENERAL DISCUSSION BY

MR. JOSEPH B. DAVID

MR. E. H. SMALLEY

DR. PAUL CARUS

MR. E. O. BROWN

MR. WILLIAM M. SALTER

MR. D. M. LORD

MR. ALEX J. JONES

MR. HENRY MEMORY



ONE HUNDREDTH MEETING.

*Held at the Palmer House, Wednesday, January 17th, 1900.
One Hundred and Eighty-two Present.*

LADIES' NIGHT.

"What Shall We Do With the Philippines?"

THE SECRETARY: The weather is not propitious, but the occasion is. This is the one hundredth meeting of the Sunset Club. We are more modest than the Emperor William: we do not claim that we are already in our second century, but simply that we are about to close our first. The Sunset Club has now eaten one hundred dinners, and has developed no dyspeptic symptoms that I have observed. The club liver is evidently of a superior quality. The club statistician reports that up to this time the Sunset Club has made and listened to 1,328 speeches; and, strange to say, the death rate of the Sunset Club has been below the average. We have happily escaped the nervous prostration that might be expected to result from such an avalanche of oratory. The Sunset Club points with pride to this showing as an indication not only of its gastronomic and digestive capacity, but also of its vocal and intellectual power,

and I am happy to say that the Sunset Club enters upon its new century with its digestion unimpaired and its intellectual vigor unabated.

We could not more fittingly celebrate our 100th birthday than by inviting our lady friends and relatives to celebrate it with us. A Woman's Club in one of the suburbs, a short time ago, gave a gentleman's night, for which it issued invitations, stating that the "club husband" would be welcome on that occasion. In our case it is the club wife who is entertained.

There was once a judge in this State by the name of Pope. Before him, the Mormon prophet, Joseph Smith, was brought for trial. Smith attended court accompanied by his twelve apostles. Judge Pope had two or three very lovely daughters, and they, with some of their lady friends, sat on either side of him on the bench. When Smith's attorney rose to address the court, he said "I am here under very peculiar circumstances, I appear before the Pope surrounded by angels, in the presence of the holy apostles and in behalf of the prophet of God." To-night we have no Pope or prophet or apostles, but the angels, I am happy to say, are with us.

Last winter I had the pleasure of attending a dramatic performance at the University of Chicago. During one of the acts there was a terrible uproar behind the scenes. It seemed as though large bodies were being thrown around and were falling heavily on the floor, and the destruction of the theatre seemed imminent. One of the actors asked what was going on, and the other said, "Oh, that is nothing unusual, that is only Judson and VonHolst scrapping about expansion." I want to tell you that Prof. Judson's temperament is so judicial that you will never know from anything he says to-night what side he was on in that imaginary scrap. Perhaps he will be like the Irish judge, one of our newspaper friends was telling us about a few moments ago. This judge, on ascending the bench said that he would endeavor to be neither partial nor impartial.

I now have the honor of presenting the Chairman of the evening, Dr. Harry Pratt Judson, of the University of Chicago.

THE CHAIRMAN. Ladies and Gentlemen: As my good friend, Prof. Von Holst, is not here to-night, you will be spared finding out what sort of an event that, which the students so eloquently termed a scrap, really was, and I think I can see an expression of relief on the faces of some students whom I see here to-night, as I promise that to you. I don't doubt that the Irish judge spoke the truth. I don't doubt that my friend of the newspaper was reported correctly; he, in all probability, was present himself—perhaps the prisoner at

the bar. The Chairman has no opinion to present to-night and knows nothing except the proper length of a speech, and it is his business simply to turn on the eloquence and perhaps under some circumstances to turn it off at the proper time.

This is the one night in all the year when the Club is thoroughly civilized. I wish to assure the ladies that they are seeing a sample of what the Club does and is; that this is the same kind of dinner we eat seven or eight times a year; these are the same kind of speeches that we make and listen to: and these are the same kind of cigars that we smoke at our meetings.

In introducing the first speaker I ought to say that another gentleman had promised to give an address to-night on this subject and was unfortunately prevented from being here, and Col. Davidson at a very late hour kindly consented to take his place. That should be said in justice to him. I am very happy to introduce on one side Col. J. H. Davidson, of this city.

COL. J. H. DAVIDSON. I want to express my thanks to the ladies that they are here to-night as a protection to me against tobacco smoke. There are two things for which we may to-night be profoundly grateful. One is that the drainage canal is now open and Lake Michigan is flowing unvexed to the sea, and we are about to deliver a supply of fresh Michigan water to our good neighbor, St. Louis. In my judgment this is one of the important events, for it is the opening of a great waterway, connecting two of the greatest harbors belonging to the United States, the harbor of Chicago and the harbor of Manila. Of course, there is a little digging to be done yet across the Isthmus. There is another section of the canal to be built, and then we will have a clear waterway for the manufacturers and the products and the trade and the commerce of Chicago to reach our furthest Eastern possessions.

The question to-night is not a new one. It has been discussed with equal heat and vehemence by generation after generation, and will probably be so discussed by generations that come after us.

Now I don't think there is very much in a name, but my position is that I am opposed to "contraction," and I think the gentleman whom you will hear from next is in favor of "contraction."

Now, what shall we do with the Philippines? In my father's and mother's family, which was a good old-fashioned family with nine children, and more hoped for, when a new baby did appear, it is true the question did come up, "What shall we do with it?" but there was never any hard feeling; it was settled that we would nurse it, and develop it, and protect it up to a point where it could begin to

help itself. And so I think that this question in the great family of American States has been gone over somewhat in the same way. Every time a new bit of territory has been acquired by conquest or by treaty or by any of the methods known to civilized man, the question has naturally arisen, "What shall we do with it?" and the question has been solved and answered to the satisfaction of the people. You will remember that Florida and all the territory that we received after we had established our right to independence was acquired either by conquest or treaty. What shall we do with Florida? What shall we do with the Louisiana purchase? What shall we do with Texas and Arizona and New Mexico? What shall we do with California? What shall we do with Alaska? What shall we do with Hawaii? Why, ladies and gentlemen, we have been settling these questions from year to year as they arose, and settling them with great and infinite satisfaction to the American people.

Now, gentlemen, in the far off Pacific we acquired through conquest really to start on—and I claim that it was not a premeditated conquest at that time—these islands, and as the results of Admiral Dewey's victory began to dawn upon us we began to question with ourselves, "What shall we do with them?" Since then the question has been uppermost in the public mind; it has been discussed earnestly in the Senate and will be in the lower house of Congress. It is being discussed through the magazines, and I am glad to note that the thoughtful and patriotic and learned men are not all on one side or the other of this question. From my standpoint I would answer the question as to what we shall do with the Philippine Islands. Hold them, develop them, protect them and civilize them, and as they show and develop a capacity for self-government, as they increase in intelligence, as they learn by the opportunities that shall be offered them under the free flag of a republic, give them such legislation and such representation in the government as may be safe, particularly in the control of their local affairs.

On the other side, gentlemen, there are strong and weighty arguments because of the remoteness of these new possessions from the capital of the country and from the great body of the American people. It is, it is true, in a certain sense a new "venture," and there are many arguments which can be urged against this policy, but I want to say that in my judgment this great question will be settled by the thoughtful people of this country, and settled on principles of *everlasting right*. The most important objection in my mind that is made, is the objection that we are attempting to govern a people against their consent, and that this is un-American and

that it is wrong in principle. I deny that proposition. I say that the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands have never yet had an opportunity fairly to express their wishes in the premises. In the first place there are many languages, there are many races, there are many conflicting interests. On some of the islands, probably they don't yet know that the dominion of Spain has been forever broken over the archipelago, and that a new flag properly represents them in the constellation of nations. It takes a long time to instruct a people whose language, whose customs, whose habits are all alien to the people who come among them as governors. But my answer to that proposition is this, that we do govern and always have governed a great body of citizens *without their consent*, and without their having any participation whatever in the affairs of government. It is illustrated in this audience. My wife, my sister, my daughter, have no more voice in the government to-day under which they live than have the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands

A VOICE: They have an opportunity of changing it though.

COL. DAVIDSON: Yes, and I want to see it changed. They pay taxes. They are competent to attend to business, and the advent of women in every department of commercial life is a new argument why she should be enfranchised and why she should have something to say in the government under which she lives.

I have a stronger argument, in my judgment, than even that. We did not ask the inhabitants of Florida their consent, when we acquired their territory, nor of Louisiana. They were a French speaking people. The English language was hardly known there when we acquired the Louisiana purchase. When we fought Mexico, and as a result controlled Texas and Arizona and New Mexico, it was inhabited by descendants of Spain who speak yet the Spanish language, and who are yet alien to the customs and habits and education and laws of the government under which we live. But that is not all. My friend here wears the same little button that I wear, because he is an honorably discharged soldier of the Union Army. We fought for four long years to establish the principle that the majority must govern in a republican government, and that the United States government was greater and stronger and mightier than States' rights. It was one great body of people arrayed against another, and at the end, when by the march of armies and the onslaught of fleets, by crushing out the weaker party, we had absolute military control of the seceded states, I would ask the gentleman who follows, how did we govern from the Spring of 1865, after Appomattox, through all the reconstruction period? By the bayonet, by the

military arm, by the power of this great government, not by the consent of the governed. An unwilling people of our own blood and language, with the same history, with ties of relationship extending North and South, and yet who were *protesting* at every step against the domination of the United States government and the flag which floated over them, because we had had greater resources and mightier armies at our back than they could command. Ladies and gentlemen, I say that up to 1875, had the vote been submitted to the people of any Southern state, the result would have been 97 per cent-out of every hundred votes, against remaining under the flag and submitting to the government of the United States. And yet we held them by the *strong arm* because we believed that we were right and that it was for their benefit. And, thank God, the time has come when they see it as we did, and I believe today, were it submitted to the vote of the people of the South, that there would be a large majority who would vote to forever submit to the Union, and to remain an integral part of this great government. Is not that a stronger illustration where we govern without the consent of the governed, than that of the Philippine Islands? What would the gentlemen have us do? What would these patriots and heroes who are opposed to the control of the United States government in this archipelago recommend? By the law of nations the sovereignty of Spain was surrendered and devolved upon the United States government. There were property rights, there were alien citizens of Manila and of the islands of the archipelago, and it was our duty, when we crowded Spain off the archipelago, that we should lift the flag and the strong arm of the government, to protect human life, to preserve order and to establish law. We have simply done that. The president, in the discharge of the duties devolving upon him, and by instruction from Congress was to do what might seem and become necessary, to preserve order, and to subject that people to obedience to law, and resistance has been, we claim, largely by an unlawful element; and it is true that there is an unlawful element everywhere. Why is it that in Joliet, but a stone's throw from the boundary of Chicago, we hold 1,500 men within stone walls and behind iron bars, and with manacles upon hand and foot? It is because they will not obey the law, and there are more than 100,000 such men in the United States in prisons, and I claim—and I believe it is justified by the history of our action in the Philippine Islands—that the men who have resisted the power of the United States government, have been acting unlawfully, have been attempting to terrorize the other citizens of the islands, and until they are reduced to subjection, until they give complete

obedience to the law, there will be no opportunity to take the voice and vote of the people, and it is an opportunity that it seems to me appeals to every thoughtful man, to every humanitarian, to every Christian, higher and greater and stronger than the financial profits that may arise from a great trade in the East.

At the time of the proclamation of President Lincoln, there were four millions of blacks in the United States. We had no special interest in them, except as citizens of the United States, and yet we maintained an army and established freedom and carried the majesty and the power of the United States government into every school district in the South, to try to protect these black people and to help them to better things. It is said that to-day there are ten millions of them, and when I see such representative men as Booker T Washington and others, developing such wonderful manhood and great intellectual ability, I feel that the blood that flowed from 1861 to 1865 was not shed in vain. There is something in this world better than dollars and cents. There is something I believe for my government greater than war and heroes, and I believe it lies in the direction of lifting up the inhabitants of the islands and giving them better government through the object lessons which we may place upon those islands, teaching the rest of mankind and at the same time benefiting and blessing our own people, and making us stronger and better at heart and in our homes, because we are doing something to uplift humanity, and to make the race of men better and wiser and more fitted to enjoy all the blessings of civilization and christianity.

The chairman then introduced the next speaker, Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, who spoke as follows:

JENKIN LLOYD JONES: Mr. Chairman, friends; lest I might lose myself in words, and forget my main proposition, I will give the last end of my speech first, with your permission, and will say that because in my mind the great principles of democracy have been outraged in the house of their friends, because the Declaration of Independence, which was the hope of democracy, has been trailed in the dust by that enemy of democracy in all times, military power and physical force; because a confiding people have been outrageously dealt with; I think we ought to hasten to make reparation in humility and in shame, and to do what we can to re-establish our pretension to believe in a man's right to be consulted as to what place he is to have in his own home, and what to do with the home that he has inherited through untold generations of ancestors, received from that power that comes not from diplomacy, the title

deed of which cannot be written by a defunct power selling out to another power which happens to beat it with steel and with power.

I have no time to waste on the incidental questions of economy or of precedents. I concede that the archipelago has untold wealth. I believe that perhaps the brilliant Senator from Indiana was right when he said there was wood enough in the Island of Luzon to make the furniture for the civilized world for the next hundred years. I have no right to dispute that. I believe that the claim is valid that there are measureless riches waiting in the islands of the Pacific for whoever may grab them.

I am also compelled to confess in shame and sorrow that there are plenty of precedents in the history of the world to justify this violent step which the United States has taken toward siezing the wealth of an innocent people on the other side of the globe. I admit, for argument sake, that the international code of nations has been based upon war and warlike achievements and that governmental rights have followed the exploits of arms. But when you undertake to pass over those considerations and link, as the youthful Senator from Indiana did, the hard wood of Luzon with the need of the Almighty for the United States to help him carry out his designs for the Malays, I have a right to stand up here and call it cant. I believe that there is a growth and progress in the history of nations, and what was once need not and will not always be. I am one who is inclined to believe that the Sermon on the Mount has a place in the future life of nations as individuals that it has never yet occupied. I believe that the time must come when a dominant power will not be justified in walking over the rights and feelings of the weak and dependent. I believe we have come well nigh to the end let us hope, of the profane conceit that because we are mighty, we are therefore right, and because we can conquer we have therefore a right to dictate terms to the conquered.

I am not here to go into the details of the argument, but I believe that when we can look at the history of the last two years in that long perspective of time which alone permits us to arrive at sound judgment, it will be seen that we have been carried off our feet by the intoxication of one naval victory in the harbor of Manila on a beautiful May morning. I believe that the skill of American gunnery there displayed, or perhaps the weakness and inadequacy of a Spanish navy there cornered has so blinded us to the far reaching principles to which we are committed, so cheated us out of the proud inheritance that we have received from those who have lived and died for liberty, that we have stained our colors and disgraced our

country permanently and pained the lovers of men for all time. I believe today that under the guise of the "American Flag" and under the cry of "patriotism" and under the appeal to the "pride of the nation" and the call for "loyalty," we are doing much to debauch the ideals of the young, swinging the pendulum of progress back and going far towards reinstating the blighted political economy of the mediaeval ages, bringing feudalism again into power.

I believe that the future historian will make out a record of treachery and dishonesty from the documents that have been presented to the United States Senate. I could trace, if time permitted, out of the official documents which I hold in my hand, the outline of such a record.

The consul-general at Singapore, on the 23rd of April, 1898, telegraphed Admiral Dewey that Aguinaldo was discovered and could be returned, and informed him that the information came from Mr. Howard W. Bray, of whom Consul-General Pratt speaks as "an English gentleman of high standing who, after fifteen years, residence as a merchant and planter in the Philippines, had been compelled by the disturbed condition of things, resulting from Spanish misrule, to abandon his property and leave there, and from whom I had previously obtained much valuable information for Commodore Dewey regarding fortifications, coal deposits, etc., at different points of the island. Being aware of the great prestige of General Aguinaldo with the insurgents, and that no one either at home or abroad could exert over them the same influence and control that he could, I determined at once to see him, and at my request a secret interview was accordingly arranged for the following morning, etc. I telegraphed the Commodore the same day, to which the Commodore replied: 'Tell Aguinaldo come soon as possible. Dewey.'"

This was dated April 26th. On the 28th of May, 1898, Aguinaldo, after having placed himself in frequent communication with Admiral Dewey, issued the following proclamation to his associates:

"The great nation, North America, cradle of true liberty and friendly on that account to the liberty of our people, oppressed and subjugated by the tyranny and despotism of those who have governed us, has come to manifest even here a protection which is decisive as well as disinterested toward us, considering us endowed with sufficient civilization to govern by ourselves this unhappy island."

That Admiral Dewey warranted this proclamation there is documentary evidence at hand. On the 27th of June, 1898, Admiral Dewey sent the following to the Secretary of the Navy:

"Aguinaldo, insurgent leader, with thirteen of his staff, arrived May 19th, by permission, on the 'Nashant.' I have given him to understand that I consider insurgents as friends, being opposed to a common enemy. He has gone to attend a meeting of insurgent

leaders for the purpose of forming a civil government. In my opinion these people are far superior in their intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba, and I am familiar with both races."

On July 4, 1898, General Anderson sent an official letter addressed to "Senor Don Emilio Aguinaldo, commanding the Philippine forces, Cavite, Luzon:"

"General, I have the honor to inform you that the United States of America, whose land forces I have the honor to command in this vicinity, being at war with the kingdom of Spain, has entire sympathy and most friendly sentiments for the native people of the Philippine Islands. For these reasons I desire to have the most amicable relations with you and to have you and your people co-operate with us in the military operations against the Spanish."

On the 29th of August, 1898, Admiral Dewey again confirmed by telegram to the department at Washington his opinion of the superiority of the people to the natives of Cuba, saying "further intercourse with them has confirmed me in this opinion."

On the 30th of August, 1898, General Greene, reporting the situation to the government as reported in Senate document, No. 62:

"The naval commander has made use of the Filipinos for a distant military purpose, * * * and for this purpose the Admiral allowed them to take arms and munitions which he had captured at Cavite; and the ships to pass in and out of Manila Bay in their expeditions against other provinces."

Now the scene suddenly shifts. January 5, 1899, four short months later, President McKinley promulgates a proclamation to the Filipinos, saying that

"The military government heretofore maintained by the United States in the city, harbor and bay of Manila, is to be extended with all possible despatch to the whole of the ceded territory."

This is one month before General Otis sent the despatch, February 4, 1899:

"Firing upon the Filipinos and the killing of one of them by the Americans leading to a returned fire," unquestioned evidence that the first gun was fired by an American soldier. A month after the President of the United States has practically declared invasion, but even then, in the same despatch, General Otis admits:

"The chief insurgent leaders did not wish to open hostilities at that time."

The next day General C. McReeve reports that:

"General Torres, of the insurgents, came through the line under a flag of truce and had a personal interview with General Otis, speaking for Aguinaldo, he declared that the fighting had begun accidentally, and not authorized by Aguinaldo that he wished to have it stopped. * * * And proposed the establishment of a neutral

zone between the two armies, of any width that would be agreeable to General Otis."

Four days later, February 9th, General Otis reported to the government:

"Aguinaldo now applied for a cessation of hostilities, and conference; have declined to answer."

Now, friends, however fractional Aguinaldo's representation may be, by common consent he represents four millions of natives in the Island of Luzon, which everybody agrees represent the best elements there, the more intelligent and the more progressive. The gallant Colonel who preceded me, and myself, wear this button in our coats because we tramped three years or more on Southern soil for the sake of liberating only four million black men.

We then thought, and all of you think now, that those four million slaves had rights, but here are four million men conscious of their own integrity, conscious that they had been under the iron heel of a foreign power which did them no good, looking with innocent and guileless eyes toward the Republic of America for aid and consolation, betrayed into war. They have put up a stiff fight with us and have held their own in spite of our superior guns and our superior armament. Today these people are not conquered and the people and their homes are not ours. Still, with the sublime conceit of tyrants, we believe and assume because we succeeded in wiping out the band of superannuated Spaniards who lived on the far side of the globe from the people in question, and paid them the paltry sum of \$20,000,000, we have acquired the "right" to control nine million people who hated those Spaniards, whose right to rule them they never acknowledged. Prof. Worcester, in his book written before that "campaign document" was issued, three days before election, to which he added his unacademic signature, says that "there are vast areas of that archipelago where the power of Spain has never entered," and he says further, "their morals improve as the square of the distance from the churches and other so-called civilizing influences." We have abundant evidence from him, if from no other, that there is a people there hungering, aspiring and thirsting for a place among the civilized peoples who control themselves. And I say that it is the part of the United States to hasten to make reparation to them in every honorable way and in the quickest way possible.

We recognize how confusing it is when from the President down to the young Senator of Indiana, the appeal for this war is made with the "word of God" in one hand and statistics of hard wood in the other. They appeal to the "Lord of Battles" with prayer meeting

unction in the beginning of the speech and then demonstrate the great commercial and economic advantages that would come to the United States at the close of the speech. It is not for me to settle the economic questions. You can consult the Mark Hannas and Lyman Gages and Rockefellers for that. They can doubtless make a clear case of it. But the nineteenth century is going out in disgrace and humiliation, because the two foremost nations, in the world, are greedy. When the sunlight of peace seemed to be rising, here is a sad reaction in the favor of guns and powder. We are engaged in the awful business of killing in the name of Christianity. We are lending ourselves to the fell measures of militarism in the world.

I deny, Mr. Chairman, that any ethical question ever has been or will be settled on the battlefield. I deny, Mr. Chairman, that the principles of the duel still rightfully obtain in nations when they have so long been driven out of the morals of the individual.

We have simply proven that we can whip the Spaniards. We may prove that we can whip the poor brown man of the archipelago. But when that is done the old cry of the ground comes up which says, that "The weak have rights and the ignorant have aspirations and the unlettered have a place on this footstool of God." I resent the assumption, made so often, that the Almighty can civilize even the Asiatics, if America will help him; that the United States contains for the time being his "chosen people." There is no more exploded phrase in all the vocabulary of civilized man than this phrase of a "chosen people." Who are the "chosen people," and who owns the earth anyhow? Did you ever find a people that did not vote "We are the chosen people and we ought to own the earth?"

But, I am not here to deal in repartee, I have no time or strength to waste in parliamentary debate. I am here to testify to the deep and profound pain I feel in common with thousands of others, and the great anxiety we have for the country we love and the cause of democracy which is the hope of the world. What are we to do with these four millions, if you concede no more? Where are they now? Even the dramatic quality of the war has gone. There is no more joy in the display lines in our daily papers because, alas, there is another iniquity going on in another part of the globe which can outshine the military atrocities and depredations of any battlefield that we can show. The Philippines are in the background, South Africa is to the front if what you want is a manifestation of military power and a sight of the arm of the Almighty represented by the naked sword.

But sad as has been, the experience of the United States and

Manila under the conditions of active war, more sad will it be when we are entering in upon that long, fruitless, degrading life of a standing army that must do police duty along the uncertain picket line on a far-off archipelago. Thousands of our own American soldiery will be consumed by the degradations and the temptations of a standing army. Already even our own academic President of Cornell, who lent his name to the "campaign document" alluded to, confesses with humiliation, that the saloon has made tremendous inroads in Luzon, and we know by the testimony of physicians that the city of Manila today is awfully poisoned by the unmentionable diseases that are so prevalent that they attack even the quadrupeds on the street. These are things that follow always in the wake of war.

Friends, the time has gone by when we can save men for time or for eternity by violence. Talk about your "hard wood;" plead for the "open port" in the language of Colonel Denby, and say that "America must have an outlet for its products, and if it cannot win it in Manila then it must win it in China," and we know what you are talking about. But do not mix that up with the pious cant of the prayer meeting and expect that the Bible can be advanced by bayonets, or that you can save souls or elevate people by the potency of powder and Mauser bullets. We must recognize that the new world calls for new methods and new powers.

The educational investment of the United States is only \$180,000,000 per annum; the War Department is asking to-day \$200,000,000, \$20,000,000 more than all our schools cost, to carry on the war with, so far as any harm done to us is concerned, innocent Malays. Our army on the peace footing before the declaration of the Cuban war, was 29,000 men, and our annual army and navy expense was about \$29,000,000. Now we have an army and navy of 200,000 men, with a current expense of \$200,000,000; and Congress meets a fifty million arrearage on the army and navy account, two hundred thousand of which is to the grim fund of bringing home the dead bodies of American soldiers. The estimate of the dead fallen in the Philippine war after peace was declared with Spain is 3,000. After discounting the telegraphic despatches, it is safe to assume that twice as many natives have fallen, making 9,000 dead whose bones are bleaching out there under the tropic sun. All for the advancement of civilization! How does this elevate the ideals of our school children? How do these facts refine the love and broaden the sympathy of our churches? What finer edge do they give to the enthusiasm of laborer, farmer, statesman, senator?

We plead not primarily for Manila, though it deserves our sympathy, but for our own young men and women. We plead for a restoration to them of the ideals given them in the words and works of Horace Mann and Abraham Lincoln.

O! this talk about "World Powers!" Are we of America to enter the lists? Are we willing to compete with other governments on the plane of the bully, willing to determine our place in the confidence of humanity by the brutal power of muscle? If we are to hold our power among the nations, we must return to a belief more than ever in the power of the ideal, the ultimate triumph of love, the unconquerable potency of justice.

All these teach us that a poor home government is better than the best foreign government that was ever inflicted upon any people in any time.

We are to look for a re-reading of the history of European conquests in African and Asiatic fields. Whatever made for the amelioration of barbarism and of ignorance came not through the power of the English or any other army, but came through the power of modern science and modern art and the persuasive power of the printing press. You point triumphantly to India as an illustration of what Anglo-Saxon invaders can do. I appeal from the short judgments of men to the final decision of history, which will show, as I believe, that whatsoever the Anglo-Saxon did for India he did in spite of the armies of Warren Hastings, Clive and their associates, and through the ameliorating conditions which followed in the wake of Sir William Jones and the scholarship and institutions of learning they planted for the purpose of undoing the mischief the English army perpetrated.

There is not a war ship afloat under the flag of the United States to-day that is not the cash equivalent of a well equipped institution of learning. All our great battleships that float the water to-day represent more capital than any university in the United States did fifty years ago, with the exception, perhaps, of three or four of the most eminent.

I say let us open the ports of Manila for trade and education but if we must shoot at them let it be with spelling books. If we are to besiege them let us besiege them with school ma'ams. If we are to elevate them let it be with manual training schools, hospital ships, and those amenities that know no limitations of race or language. Do we realize how much assumption there is in the boast of "Possessions," a word that does not belong in the vocabulary of democracy. The American flag floats to-day over unsurveyed islands

containing countless people that have not heard of our purchase of their homes for twenty million ignoble dollars turned over to an ignoble power that in three hundred years failed to leave its impress for the elevation of this people to whom we deny the rights of citizenship and from whom we exact subjugation. Alas! Our flag, once washed of its slavery stains, floats again over human slavery, over polygamy and Mohammedanism as a State religion and we are assured by the "committee" that "it will be inexpedient to disturb these institutions for the present."

THE CHAIRMAN: The subject is now open for general discussion by the club members and guests.

MR. JOSEPH W. DAVID: I am surprised that the eminent minister should sympathize with the Boers, because knowing his good heart I know that he is always with the under dog, and therefore I cannot see why he is not with the English. I observe that Col. Davidson, the same as all advocates of our world-conquering policy, indulges in glittering phrases and beautiful high-sounding terms, and then ends up with "Just look how much it is worth to us in dollars and cents."

Not only the eminent Senator from Indiana, but all the other orators first talk about our duty, about what we have inherited, and then they close by saying "Just look at the commercial advantages!" The truth is they use these phrases to veil the true purpose, which is dollars and cents, enrichment of the pocket at the expense of disfranchisement of the soul. The principal reason always urged is that we must keep the Philippines because these poor misguided Malays, incapable of self-government if we leave them alone, will be gobbled up by some foreign power. We had purchased the Philippines and their inhabitants body, boots and breeches at two dollars a head long before it was discovered that these little people in the far away Pacific did not possess sufficient intelligence to stuff a ballot box, bribe a Legislature, buy a seat in the Senate, let the corporations run the government, or even steal the presidency. There is an evidence of the civilization of the United States in its highest type! What other lack of intelligence do they possess? Which is the highest type of American civilization? Why are we to-day prosecuting polygamy, and condemning it abroad, and we are willing to acknowledge the supremacy of polygamy in the Island of Sulu, and we have entered into a solemn compact with our new possessions that we will recognize their institutions and their rights and their customs—and six months after we will break it? No, the fact is, as I stated before the whole thing is a big humbug.

MR. E. H. SMALLEY: After the two oratorical presentations of this question that we have just heard, I apprehend that in oratory the crescendo has fairly been reached. Mr. Chairman, the question has not been answered by either of the eminent gentlemen who have preceded me. What shall we do with the Philippines, is the question before the plain American people. It is not germane to that issue to proceed to condemn the local Consul at Hong Kong, or some words that we may have used, or something that the President may have said. I was listening intently for my learned and reverend friend to answer the question. I speak with a personal interest, because I have two nephews who, at the beginning of this war, were standing behind their guns on the Baltimore. Now shall we withdraw our armies, turn the island over to anarchy, to destruction, to some foreign power? No. Uncle Sam is considering this question, and while he is a bit prudent and a bit thrifty, nevertheless he will not sacrifice one iota of the principles of the Declaration of Independence or the principles that permeate the American life. He proposes to hold them, not simply because he is a strong power, but because they are his. Now a few politicians in the United States Senate have no right to offer a resolution that we don't propose to hold the Philippines. They belong to the American people, and twenty million dollars was paid for them. What shall we do? We will go on and we will get Aguinaldo and the people behind them, as soon as they see what we are going to do. We are going to settle in a very few months or years those horrible abuses that have been running for generations against those poor Philippine islanders. We will give them good law; we will give them good government; and we will also show them that we will take another step forward; we are going to have civil service in the highest and fullest and noblest ideal in the Philippine Islands. We are going to give it, and it is being commenced at home here to, and it will be done there. We will teach them another thing, Mr. Chairman, that the right of any man, black or brown or yellow, before the law will be sacred, and in that connection we may have a little something to settle at home. But it would not deter us from settling it then.

DR. PAUL CARUS: I don't know whether I have a right to speak here, for I am neither an expansionist, nor an imperialist, nor a full-fledged anti-imperialist, but the argument so far has convinced me that it is possible to be a very good expansionist and an anti-imperialist. The question of what we shall do with the Philippines, I believe, will be decided by history. My friend, Mr. Jones, speaks of our precedents in sorrow and in shame, but if these prece-

dents of expansion had not taken place, we would not exist at all. Let me mention only the first expansion which was carried out by the very anti-imperialistic leaders of those days, who were then called Whigs or Anti-Federalists. Jefferson, the chief Anti-Federalist, was President, and Monroe was then his ambassador to France. When he arrived in Paris, war was about to break out, and he had to decide whether or not he would buy these several thousands of souls for fifteen million dollars, and if he had not accepted that offer he whole valley of the Mississippi, including the State of Illinois, with the good city of Chicago, would by right of conquest have fallen to England. It would be English territory, and the thirteen little United States, what would have become of them?

I assure you with these methods of peace and good will toward all, of converting our navy into universities we cannot go a long way. This is a world of war, and if we don't want war we must have power not to allow ourselves to be trodden under foot. As soon as we abolish our navy some European power will find some good cause to harass our coasts or take our maritime cities. Now my opinion is if we cannot take a strong stand in the gulf and in the Pacific, we shall soon be unable to assert our independence at home. The world is one great inter-related organism and the interests the Illinois farmer has are not limited to the acres he plows. Our national vanity does not allow us to notice how weak we were here before. The weakest power, if it only had been brave enough, could have plundered our coast from the harbor of Havana. We must have them for our self-preservation, and, to a certain extent, the same is true of the harbor of Manila. It is by expansion only that we can maintain ourselves in the struggle for life. As soon as we cease to expand we are doomed.

Now I believe just as much as my friend Mr. Jones in the principles of the Declaration of Independence, but I belong to the loose constructionists, because otherwise we could not live. What shall we do with the Philippines? Give them home rule, entire home rule. If our administration had not made some serious blunders in offending their national vanity uselessly in not receiving their ambassador, we would be better off now. The Philippines should be, in my opinion, divided into several States and territories, according to their nationalities. There is the city of Manila, with entirely different interests. We cannot abandon the Philippines to their fate or the European colonists would soon be overpowered by Aguinaldo, or else it would be an inter-necine war without end. But we could make the city of Manila a free city, we could give the Filipinos the interior

of the country and their own independence. We could let the Mohammedans govern themselves according to their own principles, and the same with the other races. That would be quite in accord with our own Declaration of Independence, and I advocate this principle, not for the sake of surrendering our rights, but for the sake of having a better grip on the islands and holding them faster. There is only one way to have peace and that is to be strong enough so that nobody dares to touch you. We should retain all the harbor defenses of our conquered territory. We should retain the harbors of Santiago and Cavite and all the defenses of Manila, and the form in which we should retain them is indifferent. We might keep them as federal fortresses, and we should make of all of our conquered territories federal republics, independent—perfect home rule. If these people have home rule, they will be satisfied with our administration and we will change them into friends. Let us conquer them, and we will have enemies. *Quot servi tot hostes.* The imperialists, declare that the Filipinos are not fit to govern themselves; but I believe if we try and teach them home government, those who will be most benefited by that will be we ourselves. *Dosendo discimus!* When boys at school in a pretty advanced age do not learn well, you make them teach younger boys, and they learn well. If we instruct the Filipinos in the principles of good government, we may learn more from these lessons than they. We need it badly. I can condense my view on the subject in these words: "Expansion, not imperialism."

MR. E. O. BROWN: The gentleman takes a very rosy view of the future if we hold the Philippine Islands, but since we have been told by the very eloquent mouthpiece of an infallible administration, the junior senator from Indiana, that we are to hold the Islands in perpetuity, in a very different way from that from which Dr. Carus suggests, I may be pardoned if I treat for a moment this question in a spirit of prophecy rather than advice. We have been discussing what we ought to do with the Philippines or what we might do. I think I can tell you what, if Senator Beveridge is right, we shall do with the Philippines. In the first place we shall overrun the islands or the most of them, brutally ill-treating all the inhabitants who show any signs of resistance to our aggression—and a great many of those who do not—we shall shoot men, women and children. We shall destroy and burn towns and villages. We shall loot and sack churches. We shall plunder and pillage fields; and we shall generally make a hell of one of the fairest of the Eastern lands. That is part of what we shall do to the Philippines. In doing so we shall

make of every Filipino an enemy whose hatred of the United States will be underlying, or a servile, abject, cringing hypocrite, who, like all the members of a subject race will fawn upon his conqueror from the basest and most sordid of motives. That is what we shall do with the Filipinos; and then we shall proceed to give the Filipinos good government. That portion of their property which we have not taken by force we shall take by fraud and corruption, for we shall give them good government, which means that we shall introduce among them the most approved methods of municipal administration of America. We shall farm out to franchise grabbers and thieves from America such governmental functions as belong to the whole community, and we shall introduce the most barbarous and unscientific method of taxation ever known to a civilized world, a method peculiarly adapted to plundering the laborer; and that is part of what we shall do with the Filipinos. And then, having obtained control of their government, their lands and their personal property, we shall introduce the greatest blessings of American civilization. We shall build factories to be owned by Americans and worked by Filipinos. Probably the Filipino children under thirteen years of age, who, like the Arab girls in English factories in Egypt, will have working hours from four in the morning until six in the afternoon, with an allowance of two cents an hour if they will work overtime until ten. And that is part of what we shall do with the Filipinos. And then, having proceeded so far, we shall effect great social and spiritual reforms by forcible juxtaposition of a conquered and a subject race; we shall rear a most magnificent system of caste, a system of caste in which the upper class will be brutal, insolent, contemptuous, domineering, and the lower class abject, servile, cringing and hypocritical. And then we shall do our best to substitute for the heathenism and Mohammedanism which exists in the islands, and the ancient faith which the Tagals learned centuries ago from the missionaries of Spain that pure light of the gospel which has gleamed already from the bayonets of the American army, and that is what we shall do with the Philippines and the Filipinos.

And if I have been in error in saying what I think we shall do with the Philippines rather than what we ought to do with them, before I take my seat I would like to atone for it by telling you what I think the American people ought to become for doing it. They ought to become a hissing by-word and a reproach among the nations, as a people who, while pretending that the pole star of their national life was liberty, loudly proclaiming magnificent ideas of

self-government for themselves, have from the most sordid and base of motives trampled on those ancient principles and crushed out from a brave, magnanimous and amiable people their aspirations for liberty and national life.

MR. WILLIAM M. SALTER: I fear I can add very little to what has been so eloquently said on my side by Mr. Jones and Mr. Brown, but I should like in a simple way to present my view on the matter. I was not, as some with whom I agree now, opposed to the war with Spain in the first place. I am not opposed to war absolutely; and I felt that if ever there was an honorable and disinterested occasion for war it was on behalf of the Cuban people. Nor did I follow some of those with whom I find myself now in accord, in thinking that after the victory of our gallant admiral in Manila Bay, we should have withdrawn from there and left the islands and the people to the tender mercies of Spain, or any other European or Asiatic power. I felt that situated as we were there we had a duty, and that duty I interpreted in the light of American history and of American ideas. I interpreted it as meaning that we should protect those people whom we had in a measure freed, entirely from foreign aggression; that we should also encourage in every possible way the development of their own free political institutions. I felt that we had done this, or promised to do it in the case of Cuba, and that by our recent history, as well as by our principles, we were pledged to do the same thing with the Philippines. Our Chief Magistrate said here in Chicago that duty determined destiny. He did not say as the phrase has been turned around that destiny determines duty, though as the course of affairs has gone since, I admit there has been some reason for the misunderstanding of his language. He said that duty determined destiny, not interests but duty. And duty I was fain to interpret, in the light of his glowing language at that time, as meaning for him and our government what it meant to me and to many others like-minded with me. The question was "Would the government be true to that duty or should we be tempted away from that straight and narrow path by other voices?"

As the months went on the situation became more and more ominous. Those other voices were beginning to make themselves heard. We refused to recognize or have any dealings whatever with the representatives of what beginnings of self-government were already in the Philippines. By our treaty at Paris, we bought the Philippine Islands over the heads of the islanders, from Spain, and took them to ourselves, without in the slightest consulting their

wishes. When the question came up in our Congress as to whether despite the fact that we had bought the Philippines, we might not still say we had bought them for themselves, not for our own selfish purposes, the administration itself, by the voice of its representative in Congress, cast the deciding vote which refused thereby to pledge our country to the same course in the Philippines which we had decided to pursue in Cuba. The situation, I say, became darker and darker. Then the President's proclamation came in the middle of January, and that was a distinct statement that sovereignty was passed from Spain to us; that they were our subjects; that any one who rebelled against our authority—and the military there were advised to extend it over the whole island, were rebels against us, which was clearly an absolute departure from those fundamental principles which seemed to me to mark out our duty in the first place.

Now what can we do, we ask; it is not what we shall do, but what shall we do?—a very different question. I say that we should do as nearly as we can do what we ought to have done in the first place. We can do it; but we cannot do it with those at the head of the government who are there now. It is impossible. They have lost the confidence of the Filipinos. Suppose President McKinley and our Congress now should assure them that they will do for them as they are doing for Cuba, I don't know whether the Filipinos would trust them; I don't know whether I should trust them myself. There has been too much double dealing in this matter, too much hesitation, too much confusion; and I think that before a forward or rather a backward step into the right attitude, the attitude of duty, can be taken, there must be a change in the administration, and I believe that change in the administration is pending. I believe that when the issues of this matter, when the matter in its largest political and ethical light is brought before the people there will not be any great hesitation as to what is the true answer.

I am not, I confess, so much impressed by the argument which some of my lawyer friends urge in this matter, that we cannot, under the Constitution, govern the Philippines. Perhaps I do not understand, not being a lawyer, these arguments; perhaps I am not able to appreciate them. It seems to me that under the Constitution we can do a great deal, can regulate not only territory, but any property that may come into the possession of the United States, and it is very evident that the disposition of the authorities is now not to regard the Philippines as territory of the United States, but as property and under the Constitution Congress seems to be authorized

to make such regulation about the property of the United States as it sees fit. I say the Constitution may go on and not necessarily be violated, but it seems to me that the spirit of the Constitution will be violated when we attempt to govern a people without its consent. The skeleton of our national life may be unchanged, but the spirit and the heart of it will be changed. For liberty, liberty for ourselves and respecting the liberty of every other people, is this nation's very life.

MR. D. M. LORD: If President McKinley would tell the Filipinos we would treat them as we treated Cuba, war would cease at once. That is what I would do with the Filipinos. I remember one of the things that were taught me when I was a boy was the sacredness of the Constitution, how it contained the most concise and expanded statement of a man's relation to government and government to man. Going on, I was taught to reverence the Constitution of the United States; and then came Lincoln, that great man, and I was taught to sit at his feet, and he said such things as this, "One man controlling another man against his will is not freedom, it is slavery." I saw the fight to liberate the slaves in the South; I saw the struggle of reconstruction where the negro was given the right to vote; I saw the struggle to do away with polygamy in the United States; and now when I stop a moment and think what the conditions are at the present time, I feel I must wake from an unpleasant dream. For what has happened? We have ignored the Declaration of Independence and we now no longer think or act as if we believe that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed.

I turn in another direction, and I see, in spite of a constitutional amendment, slavery existing under the banner of the United States, which we brag and float and talk about as the banner of freedom; I see in the Congress of the United States to-day the struggle to prevent a polygamist taking his seat in Congress. I turn in another direction, and I see polygamy recognized by the government of the United States; and I say I feel that I should rouse myself from an unpleasant dream. What does it mean? Have the wheels of time rolled back, and the nation that grew great attending to its own business, has it turned to recognize the evils that we have fought and suffered and bled and died for? So it seems. I differ with the Senator from Indiana when he says that we are God's trustee to carry civilization. I imagine if we could consult the Almighty, he would turn to the record, as the lawyers say, and what is our record? How have we, as a nation, treated the dark races? Look at the story of our treat-

ment of the Indian, look at the story of the negro, whom we spent millions to free, look at him in the South, lynched, burned at the stake and quartered. We have got only ten millions of those innocent beings on our hands now, and have we treated them so well, would God Almighty say, "You have done well, good and faithful servants, go to the Philippines and take ten or fifteen millions more?" I think he would say, "Stop; I want a different trustee." And so I say I turn with horror to think of where the government that I have been brought up under, wearing this button to show that my ancestors fought in the revolution and the colonial wars as well. I say I turn with horror and think it is a nightmare, when I see where we have gone to. Whither are we trending? When you talk to a great many men about it, they agree with you, but they don't see any way out. Oh, for a Gladstone who was strong enough in the first Transvaal war, when he went into power to say, "It is never too late to do right. We are wrong and we will stop." I would do it to-day. I would declare to the Filipinos, "We will protect you from outside influence, from outside harm, and as soon as you are capable of self-government, you shall be a free and independent nation."

MR. ALEX. J. JONES: Mr. Chairman, the question is no longer a theory. It has become a practical question, demanding a practical solution, and no method of solution that you may advance will be accepted by the American people that is not practical in its nature. The question of what we may have done, what we should have done, had we been masters of the situation, had we been able to lay down the rules and ethics that should have been followed, are questions of the past. I think the first speaker of the evening correctly stated the question when he said it was a condition which must be solved. We have the Philippines, what shall we do with them? Are we to cast them aside as flotsam and jetsam upon the sea of avarice, to be grabbed up by the first monarchial nation of Europe that may descend upon them? I think not. Turn back the few months that have intervened since that problem was first presented, and you will remember that the American people, with one voice, said—there was no politics in it then, and God help the Filipinos if it ever becomes a political question—you will remember that at that time the American people with one voice was in favor of the retention of the Philippines upon the same theory that they demanded the independence of Cuba, the independence of Porto Rico. It was to rescue the Philippines from the decaying monarchy of Spain and its devastating rule of force. We have the Philip-

pinos. What must we do with them? I will tell you what we must do with them in my opinion; we must not cast them adrift, because they would become the prey of the first nation with a powerful navy lurking in the seas of that ocean. Shall we establish a protectorate? Study the history of the protectorates of all times, and what have they led to? They have led to the occupation of the territory. That is the history of the protectorates, and no protectorate can be cited that has not been in its results infinitely more expensive than the first cost of establishing government and law under the name of civilization in the Philippines.

I am only moved to speak to-night because it is the first occasion I have had the opportunity to attend these meetings; because I am not of the political party of the present national administration, but because I approve the policy that has been laid down by the leader of this administration in the person of the President of the United States. And Mr. Chairman, I have been sometimes called a politician. President McKinley in this matter has been in touch, has been in the van of the American thought and the best impulses of this nation in the solution of the succession of problems that were from time to time presented. I believe that we should hold the Philippines. I believe that we should take the time to convince them, as they must be convinced, that the republic of the United States of America is not the government and tyranny of Spain. They are not an intelligent people. They do not know as we know the history of these questions. I believe that time will solve it all. I should abhor to see the pessimism of one of the speakers, whose name I have the honor of holding, prevail. If it did, I would despair of the ultimate fate of this government. I believe that this question will be solved by American thought, by the evolution of events, and the one aim of every man who has the interests of home rule, the republican form of government in his mind, should be to keep this question out of politics, to hold the Philippines sacred from the rule and interference of other nations, to assimilate them as part of the American people and to educate them until they recognize us as friends, and in the end they themselves will then solve this problem.

MR. HENRY MEMORY: I oppose the retention of the Philippine Islands, for the reason that I think it would necessitate the holding of a standing army. A standing army in a country is a danger to the rights of the people, as has been proved by precedent in years gone by. The Emperor Napoleon the Third, when he was elected president of the French Republic, swore before God and asked God that his arms might be withered if he was anything but true to

the republic. Yet, a few years after he went out, and by the aid of his soldiers, declared himself emperor of the French, and locked up all people opposed to him. In Europe and England especially, people have pointed to America and said, "There is a nation that has built itself up from a few millions of people to seventy millions, without any soldiers," and they have held it up to the world that the people had rights which they could stand by without the aid of any military oppression. Now, if we are going to imitate Europe, because we have won a victory against one weak nation, it is going to interfere with the rights and progress of the people. Besides, we have no occasion to go out of the country. We have a large, expansive territory here that is waiting to be developed, the finest that the sun has ever shone upon, and why should we go several thousand miles to civilize on philanthropic principles, some other people. Japan has been able to civilize itself without our interference, and let these people go on and civilize themselves. We have plenty to do at home. Take all this Western country, and fill it up with people before you go outside. I claim it is a mistake for this country to go away eleven thousand miles when we have so much to do at home.

THE CHAIRMAN: The discussion will be closed by a speech from each of the principal speakers of the evening.

JENKIN LLOYD JONES: Mr. Chairman, there never yet was a reform or a prophecy advanced in this world, but what there were those who would demand the floor immediately and call for "a practical solution." And of course it is always in order to say, "Well, now, what are you going to do about it?" When we are talking all the while about what we are going to do about it. From the very first we have said what we think ought to be done, and yet up jumps Jack-in-the-box, and says, "Why don't you tell us what you want done?" So once more I say we are going to play fair, we are going to trust to principle and not to armies. We believe that if what Aguinaldo asked for and was refused time and time again, were granted to him today by the powers in authority—that is, a consultation—and if we only had the frankness to tell them what in our boast at home we say we are going to do after awhile—give them home government and recognize their rights as free men—the solution would be easy and prompt. I found it in my heart to say in the very outset of this trouble that we were entering not upon a few years, nor upon a century, but centuries of disgrace such as characterized us in dealing with the Indians; and all along in dealing with the Indians, the one thing that has confronted the humanitarian and

the philosopher and the just man, has been this Jack-in-the-box, who is always jumping up and saying, "But what are you going to do about it? We have a condition to meet. The Indians are in the field, and because Miles Standish made a mistake we have got to go on making mistakes until the last red man is under ground." We have not civilized him; we have not elevated him; but we have demonstrated the dastardly attitude which we have taken toward this man of the forest, and we are entering upon a similar long campaign of disgrace and defeat with the brown man of the far-off islands of the Pacific.

The brother is so confident that we have "got the Philippines." Now, if I read the situation right, it is anything but that; we have never had them. We have only been able to put a little crooked black-red mark along one margin of one island, and we have not been able to hold that. We advance it one day, and leave it the next. I deny that we have the Philippines. We could not deliver the goods today to any power on earth, any more than could Spain deliver them to us.

And then here is always kept before our eyes that awful spectacle of an archipelago, and no one knows how many million souls "falling into the hands of European powers!" Well, what if it did? If your logic is right, brethren, it would be a consummation to be devoutly hoped for, for if your argument holds, England has gone round the globe, civilizing and helping, and Germany, France, and all the rest of them have been elevating and Christianizing Asia and Africa for these three centuries; surely while they have got their hands in why not let them go on. They can do it better than we can. I say if there is to be imperial aggression, the United States, of all the powers on the globe, is the least qualified to enter upon it. Other powers can do it consistently with their history and their theory of government. We do it in defiance to our history and in opposition to our fundamental theory of government. Our experience with the Indians and our still greater disgrace and damnable record with Alaska, goes to show how incapacitated we are to play the politics of imperialism, or to enter into the methods of the crowned heads and the inherited aristocracy of Europe. If there must be a power from without to control the islands of the sea, let it be some of those powers which you tell us are adepts in the work of civilizing and advancing their poor relations.

Now, I know, that as soon as I sit down, you will say, "Mr. Jorjes never told us what to do." I will tell you. Quit our meanness and begin to practice our pretensions. Tell those four million people who

have held us at bay all these months, that we are willing to play fair; that we ask them into our councils; that we are ready to reason together; that we believe in judgment and in reason and in education, and not in violence, bloodshed and military rule or foreign despotism.

But we are not going to do it. And why? I am not a prophet, but it is easy to foresee that the real complication lies in the fact that there is a political anxiety and a political concern involved. Don't tell me that the vision of the American people would have been so obscured and so blinded, as I think it is, if it had not been hoodwinked, confused or distracted by these political anxieties. "Did not we vote for McKinley, and are not we republicans, and if McKinley is defeated, won't the democrats come in; and then where will we be?" I recognize the potency of that argument. I fear that we are in for four more years of painful and humiliating anxiety. I foresee the triumph of McKinley, and I foresee the prolongation of this perplexity. The problem will become less and less dramatic and less and less exciting and then there will come somewhere down the future, I don't know whether it will be four years hence or twenty-four years hence, I am sure it will come, if not through the voters now living, then to the children of these voters will come academic vision and judicial poise enough to see the mistake we have made, as we now see the mistake our forefathers made in tolerating slavery upon the statute books of the United States, and then by revolution or evolution, by some kind of energy not created by us but wielded by the power that wields the planets, justice will be done. Home government will come to every center of home life fixed by natural boundaries of geography, of race. And the equalities among the equals of life will prevail.

Our learned friend speaks of Louisiana and the Mississippi valley and argues from that. All I have to say to that is, if we have not discrimination enough to see the perspective of things and see that the difference in degree makes a difference in kind, there is no use in trying to argue with him. To put our experience in the Mississippi valley over against an international strife with people on the other side of the globe, is to do violence to the "practical situation," as it seems to me.

However, I plead guilty to the soft impeachment. I tell you history has profound contempt for your "practical man," he who spurns the ideals of the race. I tell you history is ashamed of the man who dares not believe in high and great things for fear they will not work. History has demonstrated that the one thing the God of the Universe has a contempt for is the power that is acquired through

commercial sagacity. Count the great powers of the world. Where are they now? The mighty domination of Assyria and Babylon, and Egypt and Rome, where are they? I put over against them the "impractical powers," the little things that didn't succeed, little Greece, obliterated Judaism, circumscribed Switzerland, the small things that have been overrun and beaten by your practical man, are the things that the world honors to-day and they represent forces that make this life tolerable, and they remain yet to shake the governments of the world, your merchants and your bankers and your multi-millionaires, notwithstanding.

Go on with your plea for the "practical," the dust of ages will cover it, while the few simple principles of justice and equality and universal brotherhood, and peace on earth and good will toward men, will survive all armies and will outlive all generals.

Call the roll of the mighty invaders of history and it is made more clear day by day in the class rooms of professors and in the study of the students that they were all of them fools, profound failures, and the world has a growing contempt for all of them who shed blood for territory and conquered for plunder.

Think you the mothers of Luzon can give birth to children who will learn to love the American flag that waved over the troops that filled their island home with orphans? Think you we can teach those children of the far off islands to love the Christianity that we have bombarded into their homes? Think you that they will be guided by the forces which have come to them through men who would not give them a moment to counsel or listen to their cries for mercy and their appeal to judgment?

"What are we going to do with the Philippines?" Do the thing that you would do were you an individual and had found yourself in a mistake. Make honorable reparation, frank confession and with bended knees promise to do what you can to restore the damage and to atone for the wrong.

COLONEL DAVIDSON: I am glad to look into your earnest faces to-night and take part in this discussion. It seems to me like renewing the battle that I fought almost in my boyhood for the liberty of another oppressed race, and the language that I have listened to to-night assailing the government, impugning the motives of the President, charging corruption and imbecility and *absolute dishonesty* upon our representatives in the capitol at Washington, is just such language as I listened to through the bloody years of the war. In 1863 I came home from the army for the purpose of having this good left arm amputated, and in the peaceful valleys of Ohio I took

part in and listened to the campaign speakers in the Vallandigham campaign. I heard President Lincoln assailed as the blackest scoundrel that ever disgraced the earth, the most bloodthirsty villain that had ever held power in a civilized government. It was then said to the people that they would live to rue the day; and the time would not be far distant when the graves of these traitors to the government and the interests of the people would be desecrated and trampled upon by an indignant race. Thank God that passed by, and good sense to better judgment prevailed. If I held the pessimistic views expressed by Mr. Brown and by other speakers here to-night I would try and find some government on the face of the earth where there was something that was pure and elevating and beneficial.

The gentleman says that Aguinaldo was encouraged, that he was brought back to Cavite, that in a certain sense he was put forward to do certain things, and to assist in the work of capturing Manila. It is true, sir, Aguinaldo had not up to that moment, indicated any desire to make himself the dictator of his people; and to lord it over all the islands of the archipelago. The President sent a commission to Manila to investigate those matters, gentlemen of the highest possible reputation. Mr. Schurman stated to the President frankly, that he ought not to be appointed, because he did not agree with the views of the administration, but an honest, conscientious soldier, not the greatest statesman that ever lived—I don't idealize the President of the United States—but a level-headed, clear, conscientious, thoughtful man and a statesman, said "I want you, because we will have an impartial and true report." And so they sent the commission, consisting of Mr. Schurman, Admiral George Dewey, who was already on the ground, Charles Denby and Prof. Dean C. Worcester, and I am glad to know that the gentleman quotes approvingly some words of Dean C. Worcester. He had been sent into those islands by a democratic administration to investigate their resources, to learn something of their language and to gather and collect information with reference to the islands. The reason he was selected was because he spoke many of the languages of the natives, and so he went there, a conscientious, clear-headed man, and scholar, a teacher and an upright man. So from their report I think there are some facts that are wholly undisputed. They say officially in the report, with reference to the treatment of Aguinaldo, "No alliance of any kind was entered into with Aguinaldo, nor was any promise of independence made to him then or at any other time." I want to show when the man showed himself a traitor to his kind, a rebel who

designed to lord it over the weak race of which he was one. When the gentleman puts him forward as the model, as a man to approve, he had just as well say that the bloody Geronimo, who devastated the mountains of Arizona and New Mexico; pursued by that gallant general, whose remains today are on the sea seeking burial in his native land, and by General Miles. Follow that bloody trail, and then say that Geronimo was a fair representative of his people, or that he ought to have been left to dictate what should be the Indian policy.

You might just as well hold up Sitting Bull as a fit representative of his race, when pursued by General Terry and when General Custer fell a victim, perhaps to his own rashness, on the Big Horn. So Aguinaldo claimed to represent these people, and at the time that he thought was opportune, he made an assault upon the American army. I quote exactly from their report: "On the night of February 22nd, some five hundred insurgents entered the district of the city, known as Tondo, where they started a conflagration and fired on our guards. It had been planned that the local militia should join in this attack, all the whites were to have been massacred; and certain enthusiasts had even wished to include the mestigos (people of mixed descent), in the list of the prescribed, but prompt and vigorous action on the part of the provost marshal, General Hughes, rendered the intended uprising abortive, and no subsequent attempt was ever made."

That committee, after they had driven out the Tagals, after they had pursued them to the mountains, remained there awaiting the result, and I can read just a few lines as to the condition of the country thereafter.

"Before the commission left the Philippines, nearly all the inhabitants had returned to these ruined villages. Many of the houses had been rebuilt. Fields that had lain fallow for three years were green with growing crops. Municipal government had been established, and the people, protected by our troops, were enjoying peace, security and a degree of participation in their own government previously unknown in the history of the Philippines."

And here is a brief summary of the results of their report, quoted from the "Outlook" of November 11, 1899:

"That the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands are a heterogeneous people, with a diversity of languages which are mutually unintelligible, and without either unity or possibility of unity in their present condition, and that while the intellectual capacities of the Filipinos are high, they have not been developed by education or experience. The masses of people are not educated. The basis for self-government at present does not exist. Self-government, as the American ideal, should constantly be kept in view as the goal, but it cannot be assumed as the starting-point. Should America with-

praw, the commission believes that the government of the Philippines would speedily lapse into anarchy, which would excuse, if it did not necessitate, the intervention of other powers. The Filipinos cannot stand alone. Thus the welfare of the Filipinos coincides with the dictates of national honor in *forbidding our abandonment of the archipelago*. We cannot, from any point of view, escape the responsibilities of the government which our sovereignty entails, and the commission is strongly persuaded that the performance of our national duty will prove the greatest blessing to the peoples of the Philippine Islands."

The gentleman says fire upon them with school books, besiege them with school marms, import into that country the manual training school; why, my dear brother, that is just what we are seeking to do. In 1862 and 1863 when I stood advocating the cause of the oppressed negroes of the South, impatient that the President did not issue his proclamation of emancipation, eager that things should move faster than events justified, I was met with the same kind of indignation, and contempt and scorn. But, gentlemen, we have introduced schools and improvements and the whole South to-day is moving forward to a wonderfully higher plane. It is true that we have not accomplished all; it is true that there are many things, mobs and violence that disgrace the race in the South, so there are in Illinois, so there are every night crimes committed in the city of Chicago which the strong arm of the municipal and State government cannot repress. It is true that we cannot banish all evil, but as I then plead for the right of the African race, so now I plead for the Malays, for the Tagals, for the inhabitants of the islands, that they may be protected by a safe and strong government, not that we shall rob them, not that we shall deprive them of any rights. Can we, within a year or within ten years, determine a policy with reference to a great archipelago and ten million of people? We must wait the development of events, and I have confidence to believe, notwithstanding the pessimistic views that I have heard uttered here to-night, that the wisdom of the American people will work out this great problem, and through their representatives in Congress and the administrative arm of the government, they will bless and benefit that country to which our flag has gone in the providence of war.

The gentleman speaks of the horrible diseases and calamities, and the appalling conditions that follow war. My comrade, you and I know too well the horrors of war. Trailing behind every army, confederate or union, was disease and robbery and sickness and death. The lawless elements that follow an army everywhere are a disgrace to civilization; but shall the onward march of humanity

and the effort to civilize the masses be abandoned because of these evils? It is true that following the battle of Hastings in 1066, where there was a great slaughter, there were many evils, but out of it came the strong government of England. After the battle of Waterloo, when Napoleon was vanquished, it is true that there were troubles and perplexities and uncertainties, but out of this baptism of blood has grown a strong and a mighty nation, and who shall challenge the record, but that out of the blood of the martyrs who fell in blue and in gray, battling on one side for a great principle, and on the other for what they thought should be the central arch, "State's rights," is come a strong and a mighty government. I say, ladies and gentlemen, that in the coming century of our race there will be strong, helpful young men and young women who will grapple with these great subjects, who study them in the college, in the school and in the university, who will be able to do better things for themselves in the way of municipal, State and national government, than we have done, and are doing, but who will be able to help the people of the dark continents and the islands of the sea. I am glad that I live to-night to stand here championing the cause of these oppressed people, who are ignorant of our language, and who are seeking, I honestly believe, the large majority of them, the safe protection of a benign government. I fling to the winds the financial consideration. The gentleman may scornfully couple with these ideas the natural resources of wood and timber and mineral, but they sink into insignificance beside the manhood that I hope shall yet come to bless the world from the islands of the sea.

Adjourned.

JOSEPH W. HINER,
Secretary.

ONE HUNDRED AND FIRST MEETING

FEBRUARY 15, 1900

SEVENTY-SEVEN PRESENT

SUBJECT:

The Tax Problem in Cook County—Is the New
Revenue Law a Success? .

CHAIRMAN: JUDGE PHILIP STEIN

ADDRESSES BY

MR. FRANK L. SHEPARD

JUDGE ARBA N. WATERMAN

MR. ROY O. WEST

MR. THOMAS A. MORAN

GENERAL DISCUSSION BY

MR. JAMES B. GALLOWAY

MR. JOSEPH B. DAVID



ONE HUNDRED AND FIRST MEETING.

Held at the Palmer House, Thursday, February 15th, 1900.

Seventy-seven Present.

The Tax Problem in Cook County—Is the New Revenue Law a Success?

THE SECRETARY: Gentlemen of the Sunset Club, the limited attendance this evening would seem to indicate that the subject of taxation is not of any particular interest to this club. I am forced to the conclusion that the members of this club are so poor that they pay no taxes, or are so rich that they do not care how much they pay. They may have reached the complacent frame of mind in regard to the tax law that the old lady did in regard to the doctrine of total depravity. Someone asked her what she thought of that doctrine. She said, "It is a good enough doctrine, I suppose, if folks would only live up to it."

The honor of presiding at the Sunset Club this winter has been equally divided between University professors and judges. The plain inference from this fact is that we regard these two classes as the most intellectual in the community. It is proper to say that there is more or less risk attending the position of Chairman of this club when it is occupied by a judge, for the last judge we had here was announced as a candidate for Governor the next morning. I hope you appreciate the heroism and the self-sacrificing spirit of Judge Stein, who has

consented to act as Chairman, notwithstanding the great risk which he runs in so doing. Should he have gubernatorial honors thrust upon him hereafter it will not be his fault, but the fault of the Sunset Club.

I now have the very great pleasure of presenting the Chairman of the evening, an honored member of this club, Judge Philip Stein of the Superior Court of Cook County.

JUDGE STEIN: Gentlemen of the Sunset Club, during the entire period of its existence, this club has had the good fortune of having for its secretaries able, efficient, competent men, and I think I am safe in saying that the present Secretary is no exception to the rule. We also know that for all purposes of executive and administrative management the Secretary is the club, and I for one find a degree of consolation in that fact, because it relieves me of any duty that might otherwise rest upon me, of undertaking to run anything or anybody here this evening, or of detaining you by any long remarks. In fact, the Secretary indicated to me, as he almost always does, so I am informed, when he calls upon the person whom he has in some strange, mysterious way hit upon to act as Chairman, that it was not expected that the Chairman should seek to entertain the audience. He is there simply in a sort of perfunctory way. The club is bound to have a Chairman; that is about all there is to it, and if there were any old jokes that I happened to think of it was entirely proper to rehash them or to rehearse them.

Now, the fact is, gentlemen, I have not been able to find any joke, old or new, and I find myself somewhat embarrassed by the reference of the Secretary to the fact that the selection of the Chairman was confined to two classes, professors and judges. True it is, as I have already emphasized, that the Chairman is not expected to say much, and I am glad of it, because it is a fact, gentlemen, that the judge on the bench, occupying as he does an isolated position, in the course of time becomes somewhat estranged from his fellow men and fellow citizens, and loses to some degree, to a considerable degree, the faculty of readily and fluently and concisely expressing himself. That is not strange when you come to think of it. The judge is not expected to do any talking in court; the lawyers do that for him, and the judge is there to listen, and if he does not listen, so much the worse for him. Under such conditions it is rather to be expected that a judge, when he does take the floor to make a speech, will make the mistake that a young lawyer did when he had a replevin case to try involving the question as to whom, whether the plaintiff or defendant, thirty-six hogs belonged. This young gentleman represented the plaintiff, and when the evidence was all in, and the defendant's lawyer had addressed the jury, and the plaintiff's lawyer had done

likewise, and was just concluding his address, he said to the jury, "Now, gentlemen, I want you to bear in mind what this case is about. Thirty-six hogs, gentlemen. Just three times as many as there are of you sitting in that box." Now it may be that there are some here who have heard me tell that story before; if so, I tender to them my most abject apology.

But after all it is a serious question with which we have to wrestle here this evening, and I do not propose to do any of the wrestling. For that purpose we have a set of distinguished speakers; men who are familiar with the various aspects of the controversy that has enlisted the interest, in many senses, of this community; men who are familiar with the subject of to-night's debate, both by reason of the official positions which they hold, and also by reason of their special knowledge of the subject matter.

I have the pleasure and honor of introducing as the first speaker, Mr. Frank L. Shepard, Assistant County Attorney.

MR. FRANK L. SHEPARD: It seems to me that to ask the question, "Is the New Revenue Law a Success?" is to answer it most emphatically in the affirmative. As that statement indicates, I am a firm believer in the success of the new revenue law. I do not mean that this law in my judgment is perfect; that amendments and changes cannot be made that will make the assessment of property for purposes of taxation more equal and uniform, but I do believe that the present law is the best revenue law that we have ever had on the statute books, and that, under our present plan of taxation, it is a success.

The first evidence of the success of the new revenue law was the election of a Board of Assessors, in whose ability and integrity we have absolute confidence, and the election of a Board of Review, composed of men of business experience, of absolute courage and of high ideals, to which they added their practical knowledge of affairs. The law is entitled to the credit for these two boards, for the reason that the people, expecting much under the new law, demanded the best men in the community to administer it, and the boards, being elected by the whole county, instead of one assessor being elected for each town, gave to the people an opportunity to elect or defeat any man who did not measure up to their demands.

Under the old law, 33 assessors, one for each town, were elected to assess the property of this county. They commenced work about the first of May and were required to finish about the first of July. Each assessed for the town for which he was elected, without regard to the law or the basis or plan followed by the 32 other assessors in the other towns in the county. I have in mind the corners of two intersecting streets, one of which is located in one town, one in

another, and two in another, and all of the same value, the first assessed by one assessor, the second by another, and the other two by a third, each assessed differently from the others, without regard to its value, and without reference to uniformity in value or assessment. The time was so short, the assistance so poor, the system so inadequate, that the assessments on almost any street were as ragged as the teeth on a saw. The old law provided for a Town Board of Review, consisting of the town clerk, supervisor, and assessor. The assessor always dominated the board, and the only order of business the board recognized after convening was an adjournment without day.

Under the new law the Board of Assessors is elected for a term of six years, the assessments are made by one board acting for the whole county, thus insuring a uniform assessment. The assessment on real estate is made to stand for four years, subject to corrections for any errors, the office is open the whole year, the assessment books are there and available for inspection at all times, a publication of the assessment of all property is required to be made, so that everyone knows, or will know, under this law, what his own property and his neighbor's is assessed at, thus giving the individual the benefit of an opportunity to investigate for his own protection, and the benefit of that publicity for all, which is an incentive for good.

After the Board of Assessors has finished its work, the books are delivered to the Board of Review, which board hears complaints on assessments as made, reviews and raises or lowers the same, as appears to be just, and makes new assessments where required. The two boards are distinct from and independent of each other, and the only strife which will be manifest between these two important tribunals will be to see which can add most and do most towards an adequate, just and uniform assessment of the property of this county. In recasting the entire assessment of this county, during the first crowded session under the new law, bringing into the sunlight property that had heretofore avoided taxation, and harmonizing values and assessments, I contend that these two boards have accomplished a tremendous task, and are entitled to praise from every lover of justice and right.

Furthermore, the doing away with 33 town assessors and 33 town boards of review, and instituting in their place one Board of Assessors and one Board of Review, is an immense stride in that contemplated evolution in this county in the simplification of the municipal laws and their administration. We have in this county 317 taxing municipalities of all kinds. Supporting so many, one should not consider his taxes high, but should wonder that they are so low. We have 33 town collectors in Cook County, each one with his force of deputies and help, collecting taxes, all of which could be collected

with less cost and more convenience and satisfaction through one office. In the County Treasurer's office, the collectors of the Town of Lake, and of Lake View, have their offices, and within half a block the South Town Collector has his office. On the 10th of next month all collectors are required to turn over their books to the County Treasurer, in the same office where the first two now are, and he then proceeds to collect the taxes for all.

The right to impose taxes for the support of government is an inherent power in every government. Neither the Constitution of the United States, nor of the State, confers any power upon the government, nor upon the State, to levy taxes for its support. Whatever provisions there are in our Constitution in reference to taxation are mere limitations upon that sovereign power of the State to tax. So that taxation, that sovereign power to exact from every one his proportionate share for the maintenance of the government, more than anything else, enters into and affects the life and atmosphere of every community.

Under an inadequate and poorly administered tax law, people become discontented, suspicious and unpatriotic. Under a good law, properly carried out by strong and able officials, everybody, or most everybody, at least, pays his just proportion of taxes, and knows that his neighbor does likewise; people feel that they know where they stand and the municipal atmosphere becomes clearer.

I respectfully submit that of far more advantage that the immediate material benefit and justice that comes from our new revenue law, is the fact that it, by its provisions and operation, inculcates a better respect in the minds of every one for our municipal government. A just revenue law, properly administered,—this law carried out as it has been,—inspires a more fervent love for our national life,—a better citizenship.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have heard one side of the new law presented to us, with a fair share of advocacy in its favor; we shall now hear the other side presented to us, or at least I take it that we shall, by our distinguished fellow citizen, Judge Waterman.

JUDGE ARBA N. WATERMAN: I was not aware that I was expected to take any particular side of this question, and indeed I was not aware exactly what the question or discussion was until I came here this evening, and then I found upon the menu cards, "The Tax Problem in Cook County; Is the New Revenue Law a Success?"

I have noticed that the people who do not approve of any particular system, either of law, or of morals, or of religion, are always on hand when it is discussed. Now I may be doing injustice to some of my fellow citizens, but as I look over this audience, I do not

see any man who is worth over five millions of dollars. If I do not appreciate you at your true worth, I beg your pardon. I therefore conclude that men who are worth over five million dollars are satisfied with the new revenue law. Neither do I see here any of the men who own and control any of our street railways. I therefore think that the new law is satisfactory to them. Neither do I see any of the men who own and control and appoint the officers who manage and look after the taxation of our great railroads that run throughout the State. I am therefore of the opinion that the law is satisfactory to them. But there are some men that the law is not satisfactory to, and who are not here, I am very sure. That is to say, the law is not satisfactory to the old fixers, to the men who had influence, who knew just how to get your assessment placed at a reasonable figure. The law is unquestionably, unqualifiedly, I say, a success, in that, for the time being at least, it has done away with the man who was around ready to fix an assessment; the man who was ready to bribe or ready to be bribed, as the case might be.

The assessment of all property, real and personal, for the purposes of taxation at its fair cash value, and the direct taxation of such property upon such valuation, is theoretically as just and equitable a mode of taxation as has ever been devised. The theory appeals to one's sense of justice and right. It seems to be fair, and theoretically it is perfectly so. The objection to it is not that, in plan or purpose, it is unfair or unjust, but that unfairness and injustice inevitably result from an attempt to put it in operation. I say from an attempt, for upon an extensive scale and throughout a considerable length of time, the effort to do this has been but an attempt. Neither the Sultan of Turkey, the Czar of Russia, the Parliament of England, nor the free States of America, have been able, for the purposes of taxation, to fairly value all property.

For more than a quarter of a century the law of this State has been that for taxation all property, real and personal, shall be valued at its fair cash value. The law has been all the while as plain and explicit as human language can make an enactment. The attempt to enforce this law has been, and is, a complete failure. What reason have we for thinking that human nature has so changed that in the twentieth century we shall be able to do what we have continually failed to accomplish in the nineteenth?

How many of you remember when John B. Rice was Mayor of this city? How many of the present generation can tell what his occupation was or how he came to be Mayor? In that far off time when Chicago was bounded on the south by 39th Street, on the west by Western Avenue, on the north by the Town of Lake View, and when its population was only 252,000, the assessed value of the real estate in the city was over one hundred and seventy-four million dollars;

the personal was over fifty-five millions of dollars. In 1892, when we had taken in Hyde Park, extended our boundaries to the Indiana line, included South Chicago and Pullman; on the west had gone two miles beyond Western Avenue, and incorporated all of Lake View; with a population of over fourteen hundred thousand, the assessed value of all the real estate was \$190,000,000, only \$16,000,000 more than in 1868, while the assessed value of the personal property was \$53,000,000, or, to be more exact, less by three and a half million dollars than it was twenty-four years before. But this was in a great city, where it is popularly supposed civic virtues do not flourish as they do in the free air and among the sturdy farmers of the country. There are, there have been, no great cities in Woodford County; surely the honest burghers in that land of small farms and small villages must have observed the plain, the unmistakable law of the statute. Let us see. In 1873 the assessed value of all property in Woodford was \$10,493,151. In 1891 the assessed value was \$6,103,951. In Whiteside County, in 1873, the assessed value of all property was \$15,456,384. In 1898 it was \$7,221,755. In Wayne County, in 1873, the assessed value was \$4,440,843. In 1898 it was \$1,660,452. In the entire State, in 1873, the total assessed value for the purposes of taxation was \$1,210,108,863. In 1898 it was \$693,443,706. What reason is there for thinking that in the coming quarter of a century we shall be able to do that which we have failed to accomplish in the past? The question is not what, by spasmodic effort, we may be able to accomplish for a year or two, but what can be done uniformly. Why in the future, as in the past, will not townships and counties endeavor to cast the burden of State and other taxation upon others than themselves? Our attempt at direct taxation of all property has led to another, and considering the disposition of the people, somewhat curious result. It is very difficult to ascertain the value of the right of way and track of a railroad in a country town; its value is determined largely by its connection with and trackage in other municipalities. Perceiving this, more than twenty-five years ago, the Legislature took the task of valuing railroad property out of the hands of the numerous town assessors, leaving it to a body called a State Board of Equalization. There was not, and is not in the law a hint that railroad property, for the purpose of taxation, was to be valued at anything less than its fair cash value.

The result has been that, as to the street railroads in Chicago, while real property has been assessed all the way from one-third to one-tenth of its fair cash value, the street railways of Chicago have been assessed at about one-thirty-third of their fair cash value, as shown by the daily sales of their stocks in the open market. What the effect of the creation of the State Board of Equalization and entrusting to it the assessment for taxation of the property of corpora-

tions, has been upon the railroads running throughout the State, cannot be with absolute certainty now ascertained; but it is safe to say that when under our new revenue law the assessment of real property in Cook County has been doubled, while the State Board have lowered the valuation of railroad property, that the railroads have never suffered and never will suffer at its hands. If the people of this State desire, the farmers, the merchants and shopkeepers think, that railroad property should, upon the fair cash value as compared with farms and residences, pay only from one-third to one-fifth of the amount they pay, there is no reason why the will of the people in this regard should not be carried out. An objection to the method of the State Board of Equalization is that, indirectly, there is accomplished what, if done at all, should be provided for in plain and unmistakable terms.

Taxes are not levied as a matter of justice, but of necessity. In taxation, justice consists in an equal enforcement of the law, allowing neither property nor business within its scope to escape or avoid in whole or in part; the injustice is in sudden impositions, which have a tendency to depreciate the value of either business or property, and in the failure to fully collect the impost.

All taxation is a burden, and should be shaped so as to cause as little annoyance and friction as possible.

The load must be borne, but there is no reason why the government should require that it be carried at arm's length.

All experience shows that custom imposts, manufacturing and transportation dues, license fees and stamp requirements, are much more easily collected, with less expense and with far greater equality and fairness, than are direct taxes upon any kind of personal property.

The city of Chicago realizes each year over three million of dollars from saloon licenses, while upon all the furniture, fixtures, wines, liquors, and capital used in the business it does not collect a hundred thousand.

There is but one objection to this tax. It is imposed in such a way that the burden upon the saloon keeper is not increased by an unwise or dishonest disbursement of the public moneys, nor is his tax lessened by a prudent, upright and economical administration of municipal affairs.

The better method would be, the law providing that the total of direct taxes should not exceed one and one-quarter per cent upon the assessed value of property, the expectation being that the tax would range between three-quarters and one and one-quarter per cent, that saloons should be each assessed at the sum of fifty thousand dollars, the payment of the tax thereon being secured. The saloon keeper would thus have a strong interest in an honest and prudent administration, and we should to this extent call to the aid of economical government a force which is now quite indifferent.

The carrying into effect of any rational scheme for taxation involves an abolition of most of our taxing agencies.

At present taxes are enforced by the State Legislature; its power to tax is unlimited. We are also taxed by the Board of County Commissioners, by the Drainage Board, by the boards of the respective towns in which we live, by the respective Park Boards, by the Common Council. In addition to this there is a school tax over which the people have no control, also a public library tax beyond the control of the people, and taxes to pay interest upon public indebtedness.

Upon real estate there is also taxation to an indefinite amount in the guise of special assessment for supposed benefits, but which quite often have no relation to benefits, while sometimes the so-called improvement, for the costs of which an assessment is collected, proves to be a damage to much of the property assessed.

Of all forms of taxation now in use, special assessments for alleged benefits are the most vicious.

Taxation, unless controlled by laws that operate equally upon persons and property sought thereby to be reached, speedily becomes robbery under forms of law.

Special assessments are imposed at the unregulated will of public officials and the uncertain caprice of juries.

Those who must pay the cost have no voice in the letting of the contract or the supervision of the work. They are not even favored with a statement of how their money has been expended.

They are compelled to pay and to be content with whatever the public authorities see fit to have done therefor.

Practically, the average citizen does not and cannot know whether, as compared with his neighbor, his property has been fairly, justly or honestly assessed, or that the practice in one case is followed in another.

The system is a joy and delight to the public official who is called upon to do public work, because neither constitution nor statute limit the exaction that can be made, and practically there is no supervisory board or power to which report must be made and by which work done and accounts rendered will be scrutinized.

Nothing but the most gross negligence or dishonesty will attract attention.

If the city desires to expend one hundred thousand dollars for a city hall it is confronted with the fact that its power to tax is limited, that there are many and pressing demands upon its purse; that if fifty thousand dollars be fraudulently or improvidently used in building, it will have so much less to expend for some other pressing necessity; but if it squander fifty thousand dollars raised by special assessment for paving, or permit contractors to slight the work so that it is of

no value, it has lost nothing. The property owners have lost their money and the city can make another assessment.

That the necessity for work done under such circumstances will be carefully considered; the fact of and the amount, if any, of the alleged benefit justly ascertained; the contract carefully let and rigidly supervised, so that the owner who pays shall at least have the so-called improvement honestly done at the least possible cost to him, is, in the nature of things, under such system, impossible.

The imposition of a special assessment for a supposed benefit compels the owner to engage in a speculation which may not only be unwise, but one which he often cannot afford.

He is told that the opening of a street or the creation of a park will specially increase the value of his property; that therefore he and others thus benefited, and not the general public, must pay for the improvement. His opinion and his remonstrance that the work will not only be of no benefit, but a damage to him, is of no consequence.

The fact that he cannot obtain the money with which to pay the assessment unless he mortgages his property is disregarded. The public decide that he must somehow get the money and enter upon a speculation which it declares will improve his property.

If he be correct in his forecast, and the work proves to be to him a damage instead of a benefit, he has no remedy.

It is not likely that the irregular, uncontrolled and illimitable taxation by means of special assessments can be done away with. Some, perhaps much, of the injustice, profligacy and waste so attendant upon the system would be eliminated if in all instances the municipality paid one-fourth of the cost of the work. City and town authorities would then not be free to order improvements that work might be found for useful voters and places for handy politicians.

Contractors would not be given so free a rein, and the making of improvements at the least cost consistent with good work would be thought to be a necessity. The public authorities would have a real interest in securing honest service.

Assessments for such things as the opening of streets, creation of parks, erection of fountains, arches, statuary, etc., the special benefit of which to particular property is a speculative question, should never be allowed; assessments for paving, sidewalks, sewers, water pipe, lamp posts, grading, curbing, etc., should be placed only upon the property abutting on the proposed work—the practice of spreading the assessment around so as to reach property not abutting on the improvement, but in its vicinity, is fruitful of injustice and iniquity.

No law regulates the distance to which the spreading shall go nor requires such action in each case. The opportunity for favoritism is thus complete. He who has influence and he who understands devious ways can be favored, without one chance in a hundred that

the injured will ever know of it. With our numerous bodies having power to levy taxes and our greater number of boards authorized to spend public money, each clamoring for more, it is impossible that there be a wise and economical use of the proceeds of taxation.

There is no one responsible for the total burden upon the tax payer. Each board strives to get all the money it can, to have used in its favor the uttermost limit of taxation.

All boards having charge of public matters see a necessity for the expenditure of a greater amount than is given to them.

They are neither corrupt nor silly in so doing; they are like the head of a family living upon an income of one thousand dollars per annum; he sees clearly how he could use two thousand with profit to himself and children; if he do not do this, it is because the circumstances seem to him not to permit.

From the point of view of a board, the public always has the means and if it were wise would give its substance to be expended for religious, educational, library, health, sanitary, park, constructive or police purposes.

The taxes collected in this city upon residence property have for three years last past been greater than the net sum realized by the owners from rent.

Yet no board of expenditure is satisfied with the means at its disposal. Each honestly feels, and there is no doubt, it could well expend a much larger sum. If there were devoted to the use of these boards the entire net income of all real and personal property, they would yet see ample opportunity for the wise expenditure of a larger amount.

Each enthusiast in a public work, and each board of control of a public business, strives to place the amount which it may expend beyond the public control, to have a tax fixed and levied for all times, so that the people may have nothing to say about it.

The strife for liberty has turned more upon the attempt to maintain taxes long before established than any other one thing. The revolution in England, as that in France, was brought about by the determination of the people to uproot a system of taxation established in years before.

To the people, through their representatives, there should annually, or semi-annually, be an application for all monies any public officer desires to expend and for all taxation he asks to have levied.

The endowment of any official or board with the proceeds of a perpetual tax is to place him or it beyond the control of the people.

The power of the many municipalities, now existing, to tax, should, so far as Cook County is concerned, be concentrated in one body. It would then be responsible for the total tax and the total expenditure, and it could properly apportion the public moneys to the different interests.

So far as is possible the methods of ascertaining the value of taxable property should be the same for all.

If anything is to be exempt in whole or in part, the exemption should be plainly and unmistakably made. Nothing should be done by indirection. If for any reason railroad property ought not to be taxed in proportion to its value, at more than one-half or one-third as much as small residences, this should be directly attained and not accomplished through the medium of a misnamed State Board of Equalization.

THE CHAIRMAN: We are all of us made more or less acquainted just now with the practical workings of the new law in the shape of the tax bills which are being sent to us by the various tax collectors. But there is one man here who, by virtue of the position he is occupying, probably knows more as to the practical working of that law than anyone else in the county, and he it is upon whom the task has been imposed, with others, of fixing the valuation of personal and real property, and listening to the complaints of the owners after the assessments have been made, and I think we are all a unit in saying, as has been said already here to-night, that the new boards created by the law, the Board of Assessors and the Board of Review, have done well in enforcing the law, and conspicuous among those officers was the Chairman of the Board of Review, Mr. Roy O. West, whom I have the pleasure and honor of now introducing to you, gentlemen.

MR. ROY O. WEST: The law we are discussing to-night is not an ideal law; it is not a super-human law; it is a law made for human beings, enforced by human beings, and applicable to humanity. Whether or not the assessment of personal property or the assessment of real estate is advisable, or is the best means of collecting the funds necessary to run the government, is not the question assigned to me to talk about. The question is, "The Tax Problem; Is the New Revenue Law a Success?" Most of the speakers this evening apparently have confused, to a degree at least, the question of what is the new revenue law. The revenue law which is being enforced to-day is the same revenue law which was passed in 1872, with slight alterations from time to time. The machinery for the enforcement of this law constitutes the new revenue law. The property, personal and real, is assessed practically the same way as in 1872, but the organized effort for listing the property is different. Instead of having a number of assessors, one for each town, we have a Board of Assessors; instead, as was said, of having a number of Boards of Review, one for each town, we have one Board of Review, with enlarged powers; a Board of Review having both original and appellate jurisdiction. What is

subject to appraisement is the same under the law of 1898 as of 1872, mortgages, credits, money on deposit, stocks in corporations not organized under the laws of the State of Illinois, bonds, goods and wares, household furniture, real estate and buildings shall be assessed, and the law is the same as it has been for twenty years or more.

The question, "Is the new revenue law a success?" must necessarily resolve itself into the question, is the enforcement of the old law a success? The answer, and the only answer to that question, is, what has been accomplished? It is not necessary for me to say what has been accomplished. You have heard, and will hear more from time to time as to what it has failed to do. Suffice it to say in that regard that this is a human law; it is not perfect; its administration has not been perfect. The men who have been called upon to enforce it in this county admit that they have made mistakes. It should be considered that when these new boards went into office the community at large was hostile to this new law, so called. The community at large believed, and had been told, that the Supreme Court would find against the new law, so called. They were told that they would have the old rate upon the new and increased valuation—that being a material difference as to the law, not concerning its enforcement so much—that we should have the assessment spread on a one-fifth valuation instead of on a tenth, which had been adopted by usage and custom. They were told that if they gave in their property, and the law was declared unconstitutional, the same old assessors with the same old methods would go about looking up their belongings, and that the taxes would amount practically to confiscation. At the time the Board of Review began its sessions, the Supreme Court, in the case of Hetty Green, had passed on the constitutionality of this law. There, I believe, all the arguments which have since been advanced against its constitutionality were advanced, and the Supreme Court held that the law was constitutional. A little later another effort was made to have the Supreme Court pass on the question in the way of a petition for mandamus, and the Supreme Court again confirmed its former ruling. The Board of Review, relying on these decisions, said that the tax would not be to exceed five per cent, with the slight additions for school building purposes and State tax purposes, on the assessed valuation, or about one per cent of the full, fair cash value. Since, the Supreme Court, for some reason, has declared section 49, which contains this five per cent limitation, unconstitutional and void. That then has given you an increased valuation with an unlimited rate: That, Judge Waterman, accounts in a very large measure, for the twenty-five or thirty per cent increase of tax on the outlying property and on all property in this county. This action of the Supreme Court in the Town of West Chicago makes a difference in the taxes of at least thirty-three per cent, I

think; in the South Town, Lake View, Town of Lake, North Chicago, Town of Jefferson, all of them, conservatively twenty to twenty-two or twenty-three per cent. The Board of Review and the other boards were new. The Board of Review heard about forty thousand people during its sittings, during July, August and September. It called in on its own motion about twenty-five thousand people, individuals, firms and corporations, about eight thousand of whose taxes it raised. I refer now to personal property. The Board of Review also heard complaints on real estate about sixteen hundred in number, in some of which complaints there were as many as one or two hundred pieces of property. The list presented by Mr. Potter Palmer's agents must have contained at least two hundred separate pieces of real estate in this county; others were almost as large. In this great rush, during the hot season, with a hostile public—and you cannot blame the public if they are hostile under the circumstances—with people uncertain, it was a tremendous task that confronted us. In that work we admit that we made mistakes. However, many mistakes which are claimed, are not mistakes; and men of great wealth and concerns of great wealth in this town will, this year, for the first time, much against their pleasure in some instances, pay something near a fair proportionate share of the burdens of taxation, and it will be found that in most of the cases the men who are filing their bills in court, and trying to restrain the collection of personal property taxes, have no just cause for complaint, and many of them are assessed too low. Yet some people wonder where the Board of Review got their information. And I will say right here, that while the Board of Review may have made some mistakes, and did, it did not make a single appraisal except on positive information. The Board of Review got that information with the understanding that its source would not be revealed, and some of these gentlemen who have filed their bills are smarting more to find out where that information came from, rather than on account of the amount of the assessment levied against them.

Something has been said here to-night about the street railway men not being here; that probably they are satisfied; that men representing the grand trunk lines in the states are not here, and probably they are satisfied; that the men worth five million dollars and over are not here, and probably they are satisfied. The Chicago City Railway Company has its tangible property—the only property which can be assessed by the local assessing boards, which alone have anything to do with the new law—assessed for seven million dollars, its personal tangible property. Its real estate is assessed as other people's real estate is assessed, I do not know the total; that, I submit, is a full, fair assessment for its tangible personal property. We figured on that assessment alone, each member of the Board of Review, for

at least two or three hours, and I believe that no man acquainted with the facts could justly assess them on their personal property very much more for April 1, 1899. That does not refer to their franchise, nor to their capital stock, with which the local assessing bodies have absolutely nothing to do. Under the law of 1872, under the law which has been since that time, the capital stock of all corporations in this state, except corporations for purely manufacturing purposes, printing concerns, concerns for the promotion of breeding horses and cattle, mining, etc., coal mining concerns and horticultural associations, and a few others, their capital stock is not assessed. These others are assessed by the State Board of Equalization, and have always been so assessed. Take the West Division Railway, the Union Traction Company, I have forgotten the total now, but the total for the north side and the west side will aggregate about ten million dollars on their personal tangible property in this county; now, if the State Board of Equalization did not properly assess their capital stock—I am not saying whether they did or did not, for I never examined into that question—(they did not assess them anything, I understand) that has nothing to do with the question of whether or not the new revenue law is a success, because that is in the hands of the State Board of Equalization under the law. The same thing applies to the trunk lines. We assess the tangible property of every one of the trunk lines in this county that was subject to assessment by the Board of Assessors, as high as was the property of any other corporation or of any individual.

As to the men worth five million dollars or more, I don't know all the men in town who are worth that amount, even by name. Mr. Marshall Field has an assessment of two million dollars and a half on his tangible personal property in this town, not including the property that he has in Illinois corporations which are assessed in the names of those companies. Mr. Charles T. Yerkes has an assessment on his tangible personal property in this town of one million dollars, not including the stocks in Illinois corporations. Mr. P. D. Armour has an assessment on his of three-quarters of a million, for his tangible, individual personal property, and each of his sons of seventy-five thousand dollars on their personal individual property, and something over five million dollars on the tangible personal property of Armour & Company in town and in this county. The real estate of these men is assessed as is the real estate of their neighbors, and others in the same proportion. Those are some of the things that the law has done.

In a general way, the law has multiplied by three almost the assessed value of the personal property of Cook County over a year ago. The law has multiplied by two the total assessed value of personal and real property in the County of Cook, as compared with

the year 1898, being an increase of about two hundred million dollars assessed valuation over the former year in this county alone, whereas the other one hundred and one counties in the State of Illinois increased their assessed valuation over the year 1898 by about three million dollars. That is what the new revenue law has done in this county. In addition, as has been suggested, it has given uniformity of assessment. It has given a continuous body whereby the people and taxpayers may know something of what their assessments are apt to be year after year. It gives stability to investments and confidence to investors. I think the most important thing the new revenue law has done has been to give to every citizen an opportunity to know what his taxes are, to make a presentation of his grievances, and to have a respectful hearing. He may not get the remedy he wants; he must not expect in a few months under a new system that he will get all that he ought to have or all that he thinks he ought to have, but he will have what he has never had in the history of Chicago, an opportunity to know what his taxes are, and an opportunity for a respectful consideration of his grievances.

I feel somewhat complimented by the reference that has been made to the work of the Board of Assessors and the Board of Review in this county. I feel grateful for what has been said regarding the intentions of these Boards. We have made mistakes, but I hope every citizen will understand and will know that if he comes before the Board of Review of this County he will have an opportunity to state his grievances, and we will put forth our best efforts to give him a fair and equitable assessment. We cannot do it in one year, it may be we cannot do it in two years; but if the great body of the people who want to be fair and want to give the new law and the men who are trying to enforce it a fair chance, and will be a little patient, I believe that in a few years this law will in a great degree remedy the evils under which we have been living.

THE CHAIRMAN: The gentleman who is on the program this evening as the last regular speaker is so well known in this community and elsewhere that he needs no introduction at my hands. There is no subject within the range of human knowledge to which when he applies his attention he does not contribute by his logical acumen, by his ready power of vigorous expression and his possession in an eminent degree of that sound, sterling common sense which is of so great and overshadowing importance in the progress of human affairs.

It therefore is to me a great pleasure to say to you that you will now be addressed by Judge Moran.

MR. THOS. A. MORAN: If the subject presented for discus-

sion to-night had been, is the new revenue law an improvement on the old one, I think there would be but one voice. Manifestly it is an improvement. Manifestly the Board of Review who were elected to discharge the duties that the law imposed upon them have accomplished labors that were practically herculean. It is manifest—I believe it is the general belief of the citizens, at least as far as I am informed, that the endeavor of these gentlemen has been to proceed with their task in an impartial manner, in a just manner, and to accomplish, as far as in them the ability lay, a just result under the theory of our tax laws in this state. That they have succeeded in bringing to light property that was not before subjected to taxation has been made manifest; and that there has been a great deal of property, notwithstanding their endeavors to bring property to light that should be subject to taxation, which has escaped them, they do not even themselves pretend is not true.

They start out, then, with the admission, which I think it would take some hardihood to deny, that the new revenue law is a great improvement upon the old system. The method which has been mentioned here of having two assessing boards, one with power of reviewing, and also original power to investigate into the matter, taking it out of the hands of numerous assessors, affected in their judgment, or at least in the exercise of their judgment, by local influences, by neighborhood influences, the getting rid of all that and of concentrating it so far as the county is concerned in a board of intelligent and impartial gentlemen, is a great advantage and a great improvement. But when you ask, is the new revenue law a success, you ask a very different question. It is not a success, and it cannot be a success, and no boards can make a success of a revenue law predicated upon the principles of taxation that underlie our system in this state. It is not that the new machinery is not admirably adapted to bringing the best results out of a bad theory, but it is that the theory under which they operate is so imperfect that it cannot have anything like a successful result. Now, you see from the statement that I am making that my discussion is more academic than anything else. The constitution of this state requires, as Judge Waterman has said, and as all the speakers agree, that the property of the state shall be assessed uniformly and at its fair cash value. Our mistake originates back there. Not in the laws that the legislature passed to try to carry out that principle, but in the adoption of a principle which is in itself vicious.

We see from the remarks of Mr. West an illustration of one of the points to which I wish to invite your attention against the system, and my position before you to-night, is, as I have already said, academic. It is not practical. That is to say, under our constitution property must all be valued and taxed. That is the theory. To deal

with that system practically is to do the best you can under that system; and upon that theory, as we have already said, the present law is a very great improvement. But the execution of the present law, the honest and intelligent endeavor of the present machinery to execute the law demonstrates the viciousness of the theory. What is it now? Let us see what we can put down as the marks of a just system of taxation. We must have revenue. The government that we have ordained must receive support. The very institutions that are carried as a public burden must have some revenue to support them. That revenue should be obtained upon a system that would require from the person who pays the taxes to pay in just proportion to the benefits that he receives from the government, or from the institutions that the government supports. Now it seems to me that that is a fair proposition. It would not be fair to say that you are to tax a man according to his ability to pay. That is no fair measure of taxation, because if you tax a man according to his ability to pay, you will have some citizen who is blessed with a large fortune, having it taken from him in great measure, while he does not enjoy in the same measure the benefits of the government or the profits of the institutions that are supported by the government. I take it, then, that it would not be maintained that men are to be taxed according to their ability to pay, but that the fair rule will be that men shall be taxed according to the benefit that they receive from the government that the taxes are paid to support.

Now, having established that proposition, the next one we ought to go to is this: That a system of taxation ought to be predicated upon principles which enable it to reach the property on which the tax is to be spread, with little difficulty and with approximate fairness. That is to say, the only thing that there should be a mistake in, the only thing by which the property should escape its fair share of taxation, is because of a mere mistake in the judgment of the taxing officer. An honest mistake, I say. Not from his partiality; because if we go into partiality or dishonest administration we at once destroy any system of taxation. You must predicate it upon an honest administration of the taxing officer. But you never can have a taxing officer who is not fallible. Infallibility you cannot expect from any class of men. Honesty we generally can expect, and I believe we very generally get it in the administration of public affairs. Now, I say that the property that is to be subject to taxation ought to be a class of property that is most readily reached, that can be seen of all men, and upon which the only danger of inequalities will arise from the honest mistakes of the valuing officers. It seems that that proposition reduces the chances for wrong and partiality greatly. It ought to be, then, only the property that can be seen and found. It ought to be visible property. If it is invisible, if it can be hidden,

if a man can put it in the tail pockets of his coat and walk away with it, if he can lie about it and conceal it from the valuing officer, you see it has dangerous defects. That leads to a proposition that you have probably already anticipated in your mind, that direct taxation with all its faults, if it is to be made successful at all, must be levied upon visible property, and visible property in the sense that it cannot be made invisible; property that is located and immovable; property that can be seen of all men—hence upon real estate.

Now, what are the faults of a system of taxation that undertakes to tax personal property? Why, gentlemen, it is not a new question. Men have studied about it, and written about it, and I have no doubt that there are very many men in this room who have given more thought to it and more study to it than ever I have done, and therefore it is to a certain extent, and a very large extent, indeed, presumptuous on my part to undertake to inform you upon the subject, and I wish here to disclaim any intention or any assumption that I shall do any such thing.

I want to call your attention to something, because I think now in the State of Illinois and in the City of Chicago, the County of Cook,—where my civic pride leads me to believe there is the most influential and intellectual body of men together that is to be found in this state—I think here we ought to have our attention directed, not to the mere administration of a faulty system, but to the selection of a system that will be perfect, or as near perfect as we can get it. Long ago, very long ago, one of the men in this country, one of the greatest statesmen, a man whose name, no matter how we differ with him on certain propositions of government, we all revere as one of the men who was a builder of the nation, Alexander Hamilton—I say no matter how we may agree with him in certain theories, and certainly I disagree with him very strongly on a great many things—still I think nobody will undertake to say that Alexander Hamilton was not gifted in the question of taxation and financial affairs. Mr. Hamilton, as early as his writings in the *Federalist*, laid down the proposition which denies the possibility of having a perfect system of direct taxation upon personal property. He says in different letters published in the *Federalist*, where he discusses this question, that a fair direct tax upon personal property is impossible for the reason that the subject of the tax is too nearly invisible. He does not mean that if personal property is exposed to the view of everybody it cannot be so, but he does mention that particular property of this kind of asset that it can be moved and hidden, can disappear and quite get away from the eye of the taxing officer. Its invisibility, the inability to get at it, the fact that the taxing officer must in the end depend upon information which he gets either from the oath of the owner of the property or from some other source, leads you at once,

you see, into the domain of uncertainty, into the domain where everything is unsatisfactory, into the domain where the tribunal, or the man who is called upon to put the value on the property, after he has exercised his best judgment and reached the best result he can, doubts and hesitates about the result himself. Now, in the remarks of Mr. West we see this very difficulty that has met this Board. Did they have to seek for secret information about real estate? Why, no. A man cannot hide his lot. What did they get secret information about? Personal property; nothing else. Look at the condition of things, gentlemen, and understand me now, let every one understand what I say; I make no reflection on the Board. I have no doubt, and I publicly express it, I have confidence in the gentlemen of the Board, and I feel perfectly sure that their endeavor was an honest one; but what did they have to do, according to the statement here before you to-night of the eminent and excellent Chairman of that board? They had to take secret information against citizens, and promise that they would not disclose the source of it. Now, what do you say to a system of taxation that turns you into a spy against me, and lets you go to an officer who is exercising his judgment upon me, with secret information, in my absence, that the officer is bound to deny that he gets from you, or bound not to disclose it to me? Why, it seems to me that this very experience of ours, this very experience that this Board has had, strikes a fatal blow at the theory of taxation of personal property. But, you say, what do you mean? Do you mean to let property go without being taxed? Do you mean to say that men who have millions in personal property shall not pay a tax upon it? Would you advocate letting the immense stock of goods of our fellow citizen, Marshall Field, on the corner of State and Washington streets, piled up in his great store, be held there and trafficked in by him, without his paying a dollar of tax upon the property involved? If you put the proposition that way, you are thinking that the tax system would be unfair that would let that property escape taxation and put a tax upon the lot upon which these goods are stored. Well, gentlemen, I am radical enough to say that in my opinion it is just and right that the personal property of a merchant upon the lots, the stocks in the stores, in the storehouses in this city, should absolutely escape direct taxation, and that the tax should be put upon the real estate which the piling up of these stocks upon it makes valuable. You say the real estate won't bear it. Why not? What is it that makes this valuable? I may be correct or incorrect in assuming that the lot on which Marshall Field's store stands is the most valuable piece of real estate in the city, or quite as valuable as any other piece. Assuming that I am correct, will you tell me why it is the most valuable? Because it is nearer the center of that place in the city where men most do congregate, and where

the largest amounts of personal property are to be found stored. That it is that gives it value. If you could move this center, if you could set at defiance the laws that have contributed to make a commercial center in Chicago, and could by force remove that center somewhere else, you would remove the value of that real estate to the point at which you establish the new center. Now, if that is the center, as property retreats from that it decreases in value, and as property nears that point it increases in value. What property? Real estate. How does it get the value? Because it is, under all the circumstances of the building up of the city, of the concentration of railroads here, the concentration of all influences that tend to make the value of the property, made the most valuable. It is the one place in Chicago where it pays best to deal in personal property. In this circle which is formed in this city by the loop, which I believe real estate men all regard now as confining within it the most promising real estate to be found in the city; real estate, that, as real estate goes up, will first feel the influence of the upward tendency, and that will hold this position as real estate of value better than any other real estate—in that little center what is it that gives the value to it? It is that in that center the man who wants to sell the most goods finds the place in which to do his business; the banker who wants to pile up his money will be near the places where the money will be found; convenient to the personal property dealer who must find a banking house; that the lawyer who wishes to be within call of men who are dealing in large personal property interests, wants to have his office where his clients can most readily reach him; that for these reasons all buildings that are upon these lots have a rental value that the same buildings at Twenty-second or Thirty-first, or even at Twelfth street, would not have at all. Why not? Because out there is not the place, under the conditions that exist here, where the wise commercial man elects to put his great stock of personal property. What, then, should be our policy? To leave commercial property entirely without taxation, to invite it to our city to be placed upon our real estate without laying upon the transactions of commerce any burden of tax whatever, to tax the real estate. Now, remember I am talking about this direct tax, which I agree with Judge Waterman is just in theory, but very difficult in practice. We have a direct tax. We are talking about a direct tax upon real estate. Well, does the personal property owner escape an indirect tax? No, he does not. He cannot escape an indirect tax. He pays a tax through the real estate on which he does his business. When you take this center of Marshall Field's lot as the place where the business is, other great retail merchants seek to be in that vicinity. That is where the women go to buy, and they want to catch them going or coming. A man who wants to share the business that centers around Marshall

Field's, and to catch some of it, pays a rent for the store. If some other merchant wants the store he offers bigger rent for it. In other words, the fact that you have got a center in which there are commercial transactions in personal property lends a rental value to that property and the building upon it. The land owner who owns the real estate and that building gets from the competition of men who want to rent for the purpose of carrying on business upon it, an increased rent. The competition regulates the rent. This real estate is all visible. It can all be valued. My learned friend and his co-laborers on this board can go around on this property within the loop and they can make a valuation of it which will be substantially fair and impartial. They see it, they can ascertain its value. Not a foot of it can be hidden from them; they do not have to search any man by an oath, and they do not have to have any secret information. The open discussion before their board by Mr. Field, if he is the owner, and other owners, will give them the information, and a just result will be reached. I do not mean to say an infallible result, but a just result. The condition of such a proposition makes its fair solution almost necessary. The real estate man, then, who is the owner, collects his tax from his tenant through rents. The tax is fair upon the tenant because it is regulated by competition with other lots. If the particular lot is rented at too high a rate, the adjoining lot will be offered at a little less. The man who deals in personal property in this way, indirectly, through his landlord, pays his tax. It comes out of the landlord ultimately, but it comes through this value to which the tenant is a contributor, and he is a fair contributor, and there is no secret information about it; it comes as regularly as the rent comes; it is upon a fair valuation. Justice is done, and in my opinion this is the only method by which a system of direct taxation can be made to approximate a just and successful system.

Now you will say I am traveling along the line of a single taxer. Well, maybe I am. I am going at least part of the way. We ought not to be frightened, gentlemen. We ought to travel along any line that is shown by our judgment of the facts to be just. We never did hesitate to reach a logical conclusion that is forced by facts. You know better than I do what the difference is between what I am saying, and the single taxer. He says that it is the rental value of the land which should be taxed, the building should not be taxed at all. In my opinion the building is to be taxed. It is part of the real estate, and it is the thing from which the real estate is made valuable. A vacant lot never built upon brings no revenue, and produces nothing, and therefore it is the building with the improvements that is to be valued, and that it is which ought to be taxed.

Now, gentlemen, I have spoken much longer, I believe, than the proprieties of the occasion permit.

MR. JOS. B. DAVID: You would not tax the vacant lot, Judge?

JUDGE MORAN: Yes, I would.

MR. DAVID: But that does not produce anything.

JUDGE MORAN: No matter, I would tax it upon the theory that no man ought to be permitted to keep it vacant in such a place. Let him build upon it and get the rent for it that he can regularly get, having it in market where men are seeking for places in which to transact business in personal property. I believe this plan, if we adopted it in the State of Illinois would show us to be in advance of other states on the question of taxation. I believe it would bring merchants to us who would not be afraid or uncertain to carry their stocks, I believe it would make our state and our city a great commercial center over and above all cities. Above all, it would do away with the theory that is vicious in itself, that is inherently vicious, that has in it the elements of partiality and uncertainty and unfairness and injustice, and if we have a system of direct taxation we have it upon that element, that kind of property which is most readily reached, which is most easily valued, and the tax upon which is most cheaply collected. It has all the elements of the best kind of a tax. It costs a great deal more to tax personal property than it does real estate. You have to hunt it out. When you are through with the man you are uncertain, you are conscious it is only half done. You know that a great deal of immorality is occasioned. You know that men have falsely sworn to the amount of their personal property. You have no means of investigating it. This board, industrious as it has been, and industrious as I am sure it will be during its term of office, would utterly fail to root out all the personal property in Cook County, and make it pay its just burden of taxes. Some they can reach, but the rest escapes. That is a vice in any system of tax. When you have it in the system, in the law itself, what board can make it just and successful? The difficulty is, gentlemen, in our theory of taxation. It is wrong. Let us remedy that, and then with boards and machinery such as we have here now, we will have reached something like an approximate system of just taxation.

THE CHAIRMAN: The subject is now open to general discussion, with the usual limit of five minutes for each speaker.

MR. JAS. B. GALLOWAY: I have looked around, and I see there is no member of the Chicago Real Estate Board present but myself. This new revenue law has been thrown at the Real Estate Board, and the decision of the Supreme Court has been constantly brought up by the gentlemen around town, saying, "What have you real estate men now done?" I agree with Judge Waterman and Judge Moran that theoretically our constitutional provision does not

work out properly, but as I understand the discussion to-night is not the theory of the constitutional provisions of this state; it is the problem of taxation of Cook County, and is the new revenue law a success. Those two things are going together. Now, Judge Moran's discussion and Judge Waterman's discussion go to the fundamental principle laid down in the constitution, which provides that every person shall pay taxes in proportion to the value of his property. That is the constitutional provision. It is just five years ago I happened to be on the first special committee of the Real Estate Board, the Revenue Committee to draft a new revenue law. We attempted to get a law before the Legislature five years ago this spring. Fortunately, the law went into the hands of another committee, and was finally passed in 1898. Now, there are some points that may seem somewhat peculiar, but two or three points I wish to call your attention to. I want to show why the law was made in the present form. We had to try to obey the constitutional provisions. We had to make a law which provided for the taxation of all property, real and personal. There was no choice. We could not follow out Judge Waterman's idea that we could dispense with any property. Now, what were the difficulties to be remedied? Under the assessment law, both before and since the adoption of the constitution of 1870 the state law provided that all property should be assessed at its full, fair, cash value. Now, as a matter of fact, the town assessors in 1865 assessed property at 33 1-3 per cent of its value. At that time, in 1865, there were two separate assessors, for instance, in the South Town of Chicago there were two different, separate systems of collectors, two different tax sales. In 1865 the City Council appointed three assessors, one for the South Town, one for the North Town, and one for the West Town in the City of Chicago. Those assessors had nothing to do with anything but the assessment of taxes for the City of Chicago. Chicago had its own collector and its own tax sale. That was changed after the constitution of 1870. Now, under the law of 1872, which was the new law passed after the adoption of the constitution of 1870, the assessors began in competition regularly to lessen the assessment, until five years ago it was the fixed principle that the average assessment should be 10 per cent. Under the limitation allowed by the law at the time, the taxes could be made 10 to 12 per cent of the assessed value, of the fair cash value, if the assessors had lived up to the law. As a matter of fact they did not. Now, we were confronted with this proposition. We believed that a fair assessment with a limitation of one per cent of the actual value would give our taxing body in the community a fair amount of revenue. The difficulty was to get at a fair assessment. Now, why did we make the condition that the assessed value should be one-tenth? Why not go by the old law, and say the full cash value for the assessment?

For the reason that we found, in going before these two assessors, you might be assessed 50 per cent and your neighbor 25 per cent, and another man 5 per cent; but when you came with your complaint before the town assessor, he threw at you the old law, and said, "What are you kicking about? I have assessed you 50 per cent and the law says I shall assess you 100 per cent." Now, we made the assessed limitation 10 per cent in order to enable the man to go before the assessor and say, "Yes, my property is worth \$20,000. You have assessed me \$10,000. The law says you shall only assess me 10 per cent. Now, I want you to cut that down." It was to prevent the assessor from being like a Satrap of Persia, making men pay anything he saw fit. Then the limitation was to take 1 per cent of the real cash value. Another object was, that we realized that the owner of personal property going before an assessor in the Town of South Chicago could be held up to 10 per cent of the full cash value of his property. We believed that if the opportunity was offered to a man owning personal property to come before the Board of Assessors and show his hand, that if under no condition could the tax exceed one per cent, he would be protected in declaring his personal property. It was for the purpose perhaps of protecting the owner of personal property more than the owner of real property that that was done. Now, so far as the personal assessment is concerned, considering the constitutional provision, without going into a discussion of what Judge Moran calls the academic question, what is the best method, so long as we have our constitution? The question is whether the new revenue law is a success, considering the conditions we are laboring under. I say that barring the difficulties they have to labor with, it is a greater success than the old law. It is simply a new machine to enforce the old revenue law. There has been a great mistake in the public press in speaking of the new revenue law. It has simply been a new machine to run the old law.

DR. D. C. BARTLETT: I would like to ask Mr. West, if I can, whether his statement is that Pullman Car stock and Elevated Railroad stock and South Side Railway stock would not be assessable?

MR. WEST: They would be assessable as personal property, under the names of those corporations, they being Illinois corporations. Marshall Field was assessed individually two and a half millions on his personal property. Marshall Field & Company, in which he is presumably one of the largest owners, were assessed a great many million dollars, about seven million dollars, for their store. These railroad companies and banks and similar institutions are assessed in the names of the corporations.

DR. BARTLETT: I understood you to say the city could not assess the franchise.

MR. WEST: The statutes of the state provide that the franchises of all corporations—the capital stock, is the way they call it—the capital stock and franchise of all corporations except printing houses and three or four others, shall be assessed by the State Board of Equalization.

MR. JOS. B. DAVID: The very interesting academic discussion of Judge Moran started off by saying people should pay taxes who derive the most benefit from the government. I heard him say nothing about those who get the largest privileges from the government, and who ought to pay the highest taxes, the railroad companies, the banks, who get fortunes from the government that other citizens don't. They are the ones who should pay the largest amount of taxes. The Judge said nothing about that.

Now, I saw a very interesting statement in the Record—and if you see it in the Record it is so—that demonstrates to my mind there is something wrong with the administration of the revenue law. I don't know who is responsible for it, but if it is true that there are honest men in Chicago who will hand in a schedule saying they are worth \$400,000 under oath, and the Board of Review tells them they lie and they are only worth \$200,000, then there is something wrong with the administration of the revenue law; because I never heard of a man who came in and stated under oath he was worth more than he actually was. Now, what is the matter? Is this statement true or is it not? If it is untrue it ought to be refuted. The statement was headed "Von Holst Makes a Kick." Now, this is history, gentlemen. Mr. West is my friend, and I believe he is an honorable man, but there is something rotten in Denmark if this is true. This article was written on the 30th of January. It says, "Another case of heavy reduction in a sworn schedule has come to light in the case of Frank O. Lowden, 53 Twentieth street, who listed \$456,733, and this committee reduced it to \$200,000." Now, how about that?

I maintain if he swore he was worth \$400,000 and had that much property, the Board of Review had no right under any circumstances to say that he was worth \$200,000. "The Chicago Board of Trade scheduled \$87,528, which was changed to \$47,500." Addison Ballard was reduced, he made oath; an ex-County Commissioner telling what he was worth! I await your explanation.

MR. WEST: As to Frank O. Lowden, Mr. Lowden came before the Board of Review and stated that he had included in his schedule a number of stocks in corporations organized under the laws of the State of Illinois which are assessed in the names of those corporations, and if he was obliged to pay on them again he would pay taxes twice,

and on that account we took them off. They were put in from a misapprehension of the law. That was the case with Addison Ballard; that was the case with Mr. Couch. The Board of Trade case I do not now recall just what the facts were on that.

Dr. Von Holst was reduced on the motion of the Board of Review. He made a statement which was evidently a full, fair statement of his belongings, overly fair; he put in his property as compared with the property of his neighbors, and the property of the other people of this town, at a very exaggerated price, on the presumption that the other people were going to make equally full and fair returns. He came to the Board of Review and he complained that he thought other people were going to be honest and were going to make full returns, and he thought that the machinery would be such that the Board of Review would get all the property that ought to be assessed. As has been said by Judge Moran, we cannot get all the personal property that ought to be assessed; we do not pretend to. We expect to get more of it during the coming year, but Professor Von Holst, if he had been obliged to pay on all he put in, would have been one of the heaviest personal property taxpayers in the Town of Hyde Park, a very rich town, and it was so manifestly unfair and inequitable that the board of its own motion reduced that assessment, and the board is willing now, publicly, on the platform, or anywhere else, to admit these facts and leave it to the people to say whether or not in the administration of their office they are to hew strictly to the line and make a technical, narrow construction of the law, which will work hardships, or whether they are to make an equitable and fair assessment, distributing the burdens as equitably and fairly as they can. I remember the case of a Rabbi in a Jewish church who put in \$9,000 in mortgages; he was about eighty years old, and he had a wife of about equal age. These mortgages were producing, I believe, five per cent per annum, making him an income of about \$450 a year. He put it in. Later he came to me and said, "I have put in \$9,000, and the tax on that at 5 per cent will be just exactly one-fifth of my income. Here is what it costs my wife and me to live;" and he showed me where it took the full amount of the income. "I am eighty years of age; I cannot pay that tax." I said, "What do you think you ought to pay?" He said, "I can pay on one thousand dollars." I said, "I will make a motion before the Board of Review to lower your assessment to one thousand dollars." We did, and a little later the same man came to me and said, "I don't see how I can afford to pay the tax on a thousand dollars. Here are my expenses. I have had a misfortune in the family, and I am called on for some additional expenditures. I don't see how I can pay anything." I said, "I will make a motion that you be exempted from taxation," and he is exempted from taxation. I would make that sort of a statement on the public platform.

I think of a widow who has a number of little children who have no property whatever, who was left an insurance of about three thousand dollars, and she listed every dollar of it. She lived in the town of West Chicago, and her taxes would have been about forty dollars on that. She came to the Board of Review, appeared before me and said that she could not afford to pay that amount of tax; she had a very large family of young children, I have forgotten the number. I said, "What do you think you can pay?" She said, "I could pay on \$500." I said, "I will make a motion to make your assessment that amount," and we did make it that amount. Now, there are a few such cases. We handled over forty thousand of these cases; and I will say that every reduction that was made, where the amounts were large, was justified by the facts and the law, and in the office of the Board of Review now are the records which will show the cause for every one of them.

Adjourned.

JOSEPH W. HINER,
Secretary.

ONE HUNDRED AND SECOND MEETING

MARCH 15, 1900

SEVENTY-EIGHT PRESENT

SUBJECT:

The Porto Rican Tariff Bill—Should it
Become a Law ?

CHAIRMAN: MR. LA VERNE W. NOYES

ADDRESSES BY

MR. EDWARD E. PERLEY

MR. SIGMUND ZEISLER

GENERAL DISCUSSION BY

MR. JOSEPH B. MOOS

MR. HENRY RIGGS RATHBONE

MR. EDMUND H. SMALLEY

MR. DANIEL M. LORD

MR. WILLIAM F. CARROLL



ONE HUNDRED AND SECOND MEETING.

Held at the Palmer House, Thursday, March 15, 1900.

Seventy-eight Present.

The Porto Rican Tariff Bill—Should It Become a Law.

THE SECRETARY: We originally intended to discuss the Nicaragua Canal this evening, but our friends in Washington got into such a muddle over the Porto Rico matter, that we thought it was incumbent upon the Sunset Club to straighten them out, if possible. It requires considerable agility on our part to keep up with Congress, but we try to do it. It is clearly one of the duties of the Sunset Club to enlighten Congress when it seems to be wandering in outer darkness.

The gentleman who has favored us by consenting to preside this evening is an old and prominent member of the Club, and he is doubtless well known to all of you. It is due to him to say that he possesses unusual qualifications for the office which he is to fill this evening. He is, as most of you know, the President of a corporation which is engaged in the manufacture of windmills. I mention this fact, not for the purpose of advertising my friend's wares, although he assures me that he makes an excellent mill, and sells it at the smallest price that is consistent with a fair living profit. I mention it

in order that I may have an opportunity to say at the same time that he has not been selected as Chairman on account of his experience with windmills. It is for his other qualifications, of which you will become aware, as the evening proceeds, that we have chosen him, and I am very glad to turn the meeting over to him at this point. You are now in charge of Mr. Noyes.

MR. LA VERNE W. NOYES: I do not mind very much what the Secretary said about the windmill business, but I do dislike to have him say that I am an old member of the Sunset Club. If he had said that I had been a member for a good many years that would have been quite different.

I have long believed that this organization is the best exponent of public sentiment in existence. The ideas here expressed do not have to conform to any creed; nor are they edited to suit any line of thought. They are the candid, unbiased expression of people who feel they have something to say. I have sat for, lo, these many years under the droppings of this sanctuary, and have derived much moral and spiritual benefit therefrom. Whether my connection with the Director-Generalship of the Fall Festival, the Chairmanship of the Judge's campaign for Governor, or this latest and highest honor—the privilege of presiding over your deliberations here to-night—has come from these teachings, I will not undertake to say, but content myself with feeling that it has been good to be one among you.

It has been the custom of the Chairman, when taking his seat, to make a speech threatening to knock down, under certain conditions, the various speakers to follow, and otherwise using bulldozing tactics. I shall intimidate no one, but direct my criticism against the presiding officers, not so much for their threatening and bulldozing tactics as for the practice that has generally prevailed of taking up the topic under discussion and saying all of the brilliant and witty things on both sides of it, which could be said, and then turning over to the various other speakers barren ground to be plowed. Purely out of consideration for the speakers who have been appointed to open up this subject, I refrain from doing anything of the sort.

I take pleasure in presenting to you the first speaker of the evening, Mr. E. E. Perley, who will discuss the question, "The Porto Rican Tariff Bill; Shall It Become a Law?"

MR. E. E. PERLEY: I am a firm believer in the eternal fitness

of things, and when our distinguished Secretary asked me to address the Club on the affirmative side of this proposition, I felt somewhat flattered, especially in view of the fact that I haven't been long a member of this organization. But when I came to study the question, and read the papers and the comments, and found how unpopular my side of the proposition was, my belief in the eminent fitness of things was shaken, unless I was selected on the ground that I was the most unpopular member of the Club. But as I am informed that we are limited to twenty-five minutes, and as my speech, according to a careful computation this afternoon, will take not less than four hours and a half to deliver, I must get down to business.

In the first place, I want to say that the framers of our Constitution, those who organized the government under which we now live, never had in contemplation the vast development of the country and its present importance in the civilized world. At the time of the organization of the government our country consisted, as we all know, of a few feeble states; the acquisition of territory, such as the Louisiana purchase, Florida, and other annexations, were looked upon by many of the people with grave apprehension. The liberties of the people, the interests of the United States, were regarded as imperilled by the acquisition of the territory, and yet, as we know, those questions, with all the other great questions which have arisen, have been considered and have been settled by the reserve intelligence of the American people. Take the momentous question of slavery, an institution recognized by the Constitution of the United States. The abolition of slavery was not within the expectation of the framers of the Constitution. The most that the sanguine ones hoped for was the regulation of the evil, but as for the abolition of slavery in the United States, the most ardent lover of country never dreamed of it. And yet the great Civil War, the greatest war in the history of man, was successfully fought out and that great issue settled. With these facts in mind, I cannot look upon the present question with apprehension. The American people are essentially a self-made people; the American man is essentially a self-made man, and one of the pleasantest thoughts that we can enjoy and contemplate is the fact that, as might be said by a very distinguished gentleman, "America is what it is to-day without the aid or consent of any other nation on earth." One of the most striking qualities of the American mind has been its practical tendency, whether in the realm of art, or of manufacture. In any field in which America has figured, the practical quality of the American mind has been its distinguishing characteristic. This is nowhere more distinctly shown than in our legislation. Legislation

is but an approximation to abstract right. With the conflicting opinions of our people, and with the conflicting interests of localities, legislation must of necessity be a compromise. This necessity, together with the forbearance we must show regarding our neighbors' opinions, demands that those who have charge of the destinies of the country, whether in the halls of legislation, on the bench, in the editorial room, or at the plow, shall clearly draw the line between public welfare and selfish interest. In a question of such moment as the financial one, which now we can say is safely settled—and for which I think even some of our Democratic leaders themselves are thankful—in the great financial question we saw locality divided against locality; family arrayed against family, and party lines obliterated, and yet it is the consensus of opinion that the financial question should be outside and not within the realm of party politics. Now, if this be true, that America to-day is the product of compromise, and of conflicting opinions, then I say that right and duty are not absolute but relative terms.

With this in view, let us take up the consideration of the question to-night, which is, Shall we have free trade or tariff with Porto Rico? Free trade we are all familiar with as a matter of theory. Free trade applied to Porto Rico means this: either that the government of the United States must appropriate money sufficient to pay the operating expenses of the government, money for the development of the schools and local improvements, or else that money must be raised in Porto Rico. One of the objections which I would urge to a direct tax in Porto Rico is this: Porto Rico has been oppressed by the Spanish government by a system of direct taxation taking the very life and vitality out of the people. If we follow in her footsteps the people of Porto Rico will say, "We have simply changed masters in a degree, but not in kind." Would it not be the act of wisdom for us for the next few years, in the management of Porto Rico, to give her a system somewhat different from that under which she has been oppressed? It is not a good idea for the United States of its own gratuity to care for the Porto Ricans. We must draw the line somewhere. There is no legal or moral obligation upon the United States to support the impoverished dependencies. If we support Porto Rico we will have to support the Philippines; and, as I say, there is no legal or moral obligation upon us to do either. On the contrary, it will be a higher achievement to raise the people to a position of self-support, so that future generations, in looking back upon the creation of their local home government, can say, as we can, that they are self-supporting and self-made. A gift or gratuity, whether it be of

material prosperity or personal freedom, cannot, from the dominant characteristics of human nature, be productive of as much good as earned prosperity and earned freedom.

Let us proceed to the subject of the tariff. In the first place, what does the bill provide? The bill provides for the imposition of the Dingley rates upon all articles imported into Porto Rico from any other country than the United States; about that there is no dispute. Then we have the duty of fifteen per cent of the Dingley rate. Mark you, it is not fifteen per cent *ad valorem*, as I heard somebody say, but fifteen per cent, or one-seventh, of the Dingley rate. Assuming that the tax on tobacco in the New York custom house is thirty-five cents a pound under the Dingley rate, under this provision it would be one-seventh of that, or five cents a pound. So taking one-seventh of the Dingley duties as the rate, you can see it would not be very burdensome, even under any circumstances.

I want to treat this question in the first place upon the theory that the importer pays the duty. It has been said that the imposition of a duty upon the articles imported from Porto Rico into this country will be especially oppressive upon the Porto Ricans; that is on the theory that they pay the duty. So let us start with that theory, that Porto Rico pays the duty. Now if the articles in Porto Rico to-day to be imported into this country are owned by the local native producers, and the importer pays the duty, then of course whatever duty is collected in the custom houses of the United States will be paid by the Porto Ricans; and for the simplicity of argument, we will assume that the sum of one million dollars a year is collected in the United States custom houses from articles brought in from Porto Rico, and we will concede that the Porto Rican pays the million dollars. What becomes of that million dollars? It does not go into the treasury of the United States, but is set apart as a separate fund to be used and disbursed under the direction of the President of the United States for the benefit of the Porto Ricans themselves. I can see no hardship in that proposition. Suppose, on the contrary, that the articles of merchandise, the product of Porto Rico ready for importation into this country, are owned by the speculators and the trusts—the tobacco and sugar trusts—as I understand to be largely the fact, if not wholly, and that the entire product of that island now awaiting shipment into the United States is to-day accumulated in the warehouses of the different ports of shipment of Porto Rico. The importer pays the duty, and the one million dollars paid into the treasury of the United States is paid by the trusts. That million dollars, just as the other, is returned to the people of Porto Rico for

their benefit, and the government of the United States, in its magnanimity, does not even deduct commissions and cost of collection, but the entire gross sum is returned to Porto Rico for their benefit; not only for the support of their local government, but for the support of their churches, schools and roads, and other improvements that are to fit them for the enjoyment of our civilization. Is there any oppression or burden in that?

It is said that the trusts are back of the imposition of this fifteen per cent duty. That is an error. As long as the Dingley rates exist and the prices of the articles in this country are maintained by what we know as the ordinary laws of trade—it is just that much saved for the trusts to bring the articles here free of duty. If they bring the product of the island to this country free of duty, the government will get nothing. The true lover of Porto Rico, the person most deeply interested in the accumulation of a fund for the benefit of those people, should be in favor of the imposition of the full Dingley duties upon products, so that when brought into this country, instead of one million dollars we will have seven million dollars collected from speculators and trusts, which sum would in turn be distributed in Porto Rico, not one dollar of it coming out of the pockets of the people of the island.

Let us take up the consideration of articles that are imported from this country into Porto Rico; again we treat this as if the importer pays the duty. Now we will, for ease of illustration, assume that a million dollars is collected in the custom houses of Porto Rico on articles imported from the United States. If the importer pays the duty, the United States pays that million dollars. Our adversaries would have us believe that the imposition of a duty upon articles coming from Porto Rico to the United States is a hardship upon the Porto Ricans, and that the imposition of a duty on goods going from the United States into Porto Rico is also a hardship on the Porto Rican. Well, they wish to catch us coming and going. Now, it is either a fact that the consumer pays the duty, or it is a fact that the importer pays the duty. In order to be fair and consistent, I have assumed that the importer into this country pays the duty, therefore you must admit that the importer into Porto Rico pays the duty, and that is the United States. So we assume that one million dollars is collected at the custom houses in Porto Rico for articles imported from this country, which million dollars is paid by us. What becomes of that million dollars after deducting the cost of collection? There is that distinction between collections here and there. There the cost of collection is deducted, and the net amount is disbursed for the

benefit of the Porto Ricans. I fail to see any hardship or burden in that provision. Right here, however, I wish to call attention to one of the fundamental principles of the Democratic party, and I believe, Mr. Chairman and Secretary, I am not restricted in my allusions to political organizations. The Democratic party have for years held to the principle that the consumer paid the tax. They have said that a tariff for revenue was the only tax permissible; that not under the Constitution or any of its provisions, could the government of the United States levy a tax upon the consumer, except so far as it was necessary to raise money for the government economically administered. Now let us apply that principle here. As to the articles that go from this country to Porto Rico, we will assume that one million dollars is collected as customs at Porto Rico. Of course, if the consumer pays the tax, the Porto Ricans pay that million dollars; but the money in turn is distributed to them, and that would be no injustice. On the articles that are imported into the United States from Porto Rico, the American consumer would pay the one million dollars. So if the Democratic party have the Porto Ricans' interest at heart, and are consistent, they will insist upon the application to the imports into this country of the entire Dingley tariff duties, so that instead of collecting one million dollars for subsequent distribution to the Porto Ricans, we will collect seven or ten million dollars, of which they have contributed nothing. You have there the unique and anomalous condition of a municipality taxing itself into a condition of prodigious affluence.

Reviewing this, and having in mind wholly the practical side of the question, namely, that of reaching the highest degree of good for the benefit of the Porto Rican, and of enabling him to get the largest amount in return, I cannot see wherein the Porto Rican is to suffer. He gets the proceeds of the collections at both ends, and in the illustration that I have given, especially where the trust owns the product, the Porto Rican himself is not a contributor to that fund at all. I want to say right here that the law, the House bill under discussion, merely contemplates being in force for two years, or until March 1st, 1902. It is what might be called a mere expediency; it is merely a provision for the purpose of bridging over the present impoverished, deplorable condition of the island. And where such conditions as these exist, it is not within the range of probability that any system of local taxation can be put in successful operation during those two years that would raise a sufficient amount of money to pay the operating expenses of the government, to say nothing about a fund for the benefit of the schools and the churches, and other internal

improvements. In order to bring the result in the quickest possible time and get the highest possible result, I maintain that the imposition of these duties—and, as I have illustrated, in some instances an increase of those duties—would bring the largest financial return to the people of Porto Rico at the corresponding expense of the people of the United States; and instead of this being a burden, instead of this being oppressive, it is a magnificent illustration of a national charity and magnanimity of spirit, and nowhere in history can you find a case parallel to it, in which sovereign power taxed itself for the benefit of an impoverished dependency.

Now, the other question connected with this proposition is that of the Constitution following the flag. This is of vastly more importance than the question of what we may do with Porto Rico. Of course the time at my disposal does not permit me to discuss this at any length. In the reading of a few of the speeches which have been recently delivered in Congress upon the subject of whether the Constitution follows the flag—and they nearly all touch upon that as being of equal importance to the tariff question—we find a most interesting recital of the constitutional history of this country. Noticeable among these is one by Representative Long of Kansas. Whatever Kansas is short on, it is Long on constitutional law. I would not have said that had not our Chairman remarked that he did not believe in puns at this sort of thing, and it is the nature of some to do what they are told not to do. In that speech of Mr. Long's the subject is masterfully handled. Eliminating now the Dred Scott decision which is referred to by the advocates of the opposite view, but which, gentlemen, was reversed by the people of the United States in the greatest revolution the world has ever seen; eliminating now the Dred Scott decision, the Supreme Court of the United States, Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, and a host of other intellectual lights of this country, irrespective of party, were fully convinced of the proposition that the Congress of the United States had exclusive power to legislate over the Territories of the United States, the District of Columbia, and any acquisitions. Congress did exercise such power over Florida and the Louisiana purchase; and it necessarily follows that if they had such power as to those possessions, they have an unquestioned power as to the insular possessions that have come to us. In fact the words "United States," as they appear in the Constitution, have been over and over again declared by these authorities as not to embrace the Territories and the District of Columbia. I do not question the constitutional power of Congress to legislate in regard to these possessions as it may see

fit; however, there is, as I say, a more important proposition. If the Constitution follows the flag, then the citizen of Porto Rico and of the Philippines has the same inherent constitutional right to come into this country and travel and work and act, as you and I. If this be true, then the hordes of Philippine laborers can come into this country unrestricted, and engage in employment in competition with American labor.

This country some years ago committed itself to what is known as the Chinese Exclusion Act. The Chinese laborer was excluded simply because his presence here was a menace to the welfare of American labor, and no political organization to-day would have the recklessness to declare in favor of the repeal of the Chinese Exclusion Act. And yet to hold that the Constitution of the United States goes with the flag, and that the Filipino can come into this country in competition with American labor, is practically to incur the same results, and the American people, no matter what the agitation, or what the provocation, will never consent to that.

By the acceptance of the proposition that the Constitution follows the flag, we would be compelled to abandon our insular possessions. The Democratic party and the anti-expansionists have endeavored, in the face of an overwhelming public sentiment in favor of expansion, to bring about a change of sentiment, but without success. Failing directly to do that, they are now endeavoring by indirection to establish this long since repudiated doctrine of the Constitution following the flag; thereby hoping indirectly to force the Republican party to abandon its policy of expansion.

Our American institutions and Constitution are adapted to the government and control of ourselves, but are not suited, in their present condition, and are not applicable to a class of people such as those with whom we are now dealing, who do not comprehend their purpose and their mission; and who, by language, by religion, by custom and by heritage, cannot be brought for many generations to an appreciation of our civilization. The last two years have awakened the American conscience to the realization of the fact that America cannot in the future live within and for herself alone; that as a man owes a duty to the community, and the community to the State, and the State to the Nation, so this Nation of ours, with its enlarged and expanded national life, owes a duty to the world and to down-trodden man wherever he may be found in the pathway of destiny.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, the able address of Mr.

Perley has removed all prejudice in my mind on this question, and enabled me to settle the matter in a way I dislike exceedingly to have disturbed by Mr. Sigmund Zeisler, as I am sure it will be disturbed when he gets to work at it.

MR. SIGMUND ZEISLER: The question which we are discussing to-night has in my opinion three aspects. It is a question of good faith; it is secondly a question of justice and humanity; it is in the third place a question of principle. Now as regards the first aspect of the case, let me remark to you that when in July, 1898, an army of United States soldiers, under the leadership of General Miles, entered upon the Island of Porto Rico, he did not have to conquer that Pearl of the Antilles. The inhabitants of that island received him with open arms. The path of our army was strewn with flowers and garlands of welcome greeted our soldiers wherever they went. And in addressing the people of Porto Rico in behalf of the mighty nation that he represented, General Miles said among other things: "They (the military forces of the United States) bring you the fostering arm of a nation of free people, whose greatest power is in its justice and humanity to all those living within its fold." Again, he said: "We have not come to make war on the people of a country that for centuries has been oppressed; but on the contrary to bring you protection, not only to yourselves, but to your property, to promote your prosperity and bestow upon you the immunities and blessings of the liberal institutions of our government." And when a few months later the establishment of peace was celebrated in Porto Rico General Henry, in addressing the citizens of that country, used this language: "Alcalde, and Citizens: The flag of the United States floats as an emblem of undisputed authority over the Island of Porto Rico, giving promise of protection to life, liberty and property, and the right to worship God in accordance with the dictates of conscience. The forty-five states represented by the stars emblazoned on the blue field of that flag, unite in vouchsafing to you prosperity and protection, as citizens of the American Union, and I congratulate you all on beginning your public life under new auspices, freed from government oppression, and with liberty to advance your own country's interests by your united efforts." They were addressed by him, he speaking on behalf of the United States, as "Citizens of the United States," and they placed upon that language the construction that they were coming within the fold of the United States, and were then and there a part and parcel of this great country.

Now what was meant when to them were promised the privileges and immunities enjoyed by the citizens of this country under its laws and under its Constitution? What did they have a right to expect at the hands of this government? Did we not pledge our faith to them that we would treat them not only as our wards, but as a part of the citizenship of our country?

I say, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, that now to impose upon Porto Rico a tariff, and especially to do it upon the ground that it is not a part of the United States, is a breach of faith.

But what happened then in the summer of 1899? In the month of August that unhappy country was swept by a hurricane, the devastating effects of which beggar the imagination. I will not stop to give you the details of it, but it is a fact that hundreds of thousands of the inhabitants of that country were made homeless; their factories were destroyed; their coffee plantations were utterly ruined, their sugar and tobacco plantations suffered most severely; bridges, roads and other public works were destroyed or seriously impaired. Brigadier-General Davis, our representative there, fully reported to this country as to the condition of the Porto Ricans, and made suggestions for their relief; and among others things he, after studying the conditions of the island, recommended, as one of the measures necessary to restore prosperity, that its inhabitants be given free trade with this country; free trade both ways. The Secretary of War studied the situation, and so did the President of the United States; and the Secretary of War in a report made to Congress used this language: "The highest considerations of justice and good faith demand that we should not disappoint the evident expectation of sharing in our prosperity, with which the people of Porto Rico so gladly transferred their allegiance to the United States. We should treat the interests of these people as our own. I wish most strongly to urge that all customs duties between Porto Rico and the United States be removed." That was the language of the Secretary of War expressing himself upon this subject, after a careful study of all its aspects. He did not then believe that it was humanity and philanthropy to tax the Porto Ricans either way. He did not then believe that it was necessary for the purpose of raising revenue for the Porto Ricans that a customs duty should be collected both at Porto Rico and in the United States on the trade between those two countries. He considered it a matter of good faith and duty and humanity toward the Porto Ricans that free trade between the United States and that island be established.

And then comes President McKinley, and with a knowledge of all the conditions, with a knowledge even of all the conditions that Brother Perley related to you, he states deliberately to the Congress of the United States this: "Since the cession, Porto Rico has been denied the principal markets she had long enjoyed, and our tariff has been continued against her products as though she were under Spanish sovereignty. The markets of Spain are closed to her products except on terms to which the commerce of all nations is subjected. The Island of Cuba, which used to buy her cattle and tobacco without the customs duties, now imposes the same duties upon these products as upon any other country entering these ports. She has therefore lost her free commerce with Spain and Cuba, without any compensating benefits with this country. Her coffee was little in use by our people, and therefore there was no demand here for this, one of her chief products. The markets of the United States should be opened up to her products, and our plain duty is to abolish all customs tariffs between the United States and Porto Rico, and give her products free access to our markets."

Thus President McKinley at the opening of Congress in the beginning of December, 1899. What next? The Committee of Ways and Means of the House of Representatives carefully considered this question from the time President McKinley sent this message, down to January 20, 1900, and what did that Committee recommend? Absolute free trade between Porto Rico and the United States, and a bill establishing free trade was actually reported.

What has happened, Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen, to change the conditions which prompted General Davis to make the recommendation that I speak of; that prompted the Secretary of War and the President to state in the broadest and plainest possible language that it was our plain duty to give free trade to Porto Rico? What has happened since January 20th? These gentlemen of the Ways and Means Committee suddenly awoke to the fact that the bill which they reported on January 20, 1900, did not provide revenue for Porto Rico. Was it ever intended that it should? Why, it was brought in as an avowed free trade measure, with no thought of producing revenue for the government of Porto Rico. Therefore the discovery was not new.

Now two things happened. The Connecticut tobacco growers insisted that the tobacco grown in Porto Rico would come in competition with the New England product, if allowed to come in free of duty; and the sugar growers of the south objected for similar rea-

sons, and four of their representatives in Congress who voted for the infamous measure that passed the House, declared that they did it because free trade with Porto Rico would be detrimental to the interests of the sugar growing constituency. Generally, the Republican managers saw that to establish free trade with Porto Rico would be a wedge driven into the protective doctrine to which the Republican party has been wedded so long.

But there was another reason; a reason which was frankly admitted by Mr. Perley in his speech, that, to give free trade to Porto Rico would establish a precedent against us in the treatment of the Philippines in the future.

Now, has the opinion of the President regarding our plain duty toward the Porto Ricans changed? It has been given out in an authoritative way by a member of the Cabinet that the President has not changed his opinion; that he still believes it is our plain duty toward Porto Rico to give her free trade with the United States; and still he went so far as to send for recalcitrant members of the Republican party in the House and ask them to vote for a bill which absolutely and unequivocally violated what President McKinley stated was our plain duty. It is not the first time, I am sorry to say, that President McKinley has expressed himself both ways on a question. He is rather celebrated for that great vaudeville act of running in two directions at the same time. In fact he reminds me of a story that I heard of a Virginia gentleman who owned a very swift and splendid greyhound. While out hunting one day, this animal, with terrific impetus, ran against a piece of perpendicular barbed wire fence, with the effect that it was torn in halves from the nose to the tail. This gentleman had heard once that if a member severed from the body is at once replaced in its position, the severed parts grow and heal together. Remembering this, he slapped the two parts of the dog together, securely tied him up and carried him home. After a while the dog gave evidence of being sound and well again. But when the gentleman peeled him out of his bandages he beheld to his astonishment that in his haste he had put the fore part of one half of the dog to the rear part of the other half. A few days after a friend asked this gentleman how his dog was getting along. He said, "Splendidly; in fact he is the best dog in my kennel. He runs both ways and barks at both ends." "I leave it to you, gentlemen, to make the application. A friend of mine once, in referring contemptuously to a man whose actions did not accord with his opinions, said: "A man ought to have a principle; he ought to be either consistent or inconsistent." Well,

we must all concede that President McKinley has a principle; his principle is to have none.

Now, I cannot go very deeply into the question of revenue that was suggested by Mr. Perley, but I have it from the speech of General Grosvenor, in the House of Representatives, which my Brother Perley will certainly concede from his standpoint to be an authority, that there can be raised without any customs duty in the Island of Porto Rico, not less than two million dollars by a tax on rum, on cigars and on some other articles. And the Porto Ricans themselves, in a petition which they sent to Congress a few days ago, estimated the revenue which can be derived from these taxes as follows: From the tax on liquor, \$1,400,000.00; on cigars, \$432,000.00; on cigarettes, \$250,000.00; on license tax, a nominal sum of \$15,000.00; from customs duties on imports from other countries than the United States, again a few hundred thousand dollars; altogether a revenue of two and a half millions. Now the wildest estimate made by the Republican members of the House of Representatives as to the cost of running the government of Porto Rico per year is three million dollars, which includes one million dollars for schools, when for years the highest expense that they were under for the public schools was only \$340,000.00, and when it is a fact that a million dollars per annum for schools cannot be expended in the Island of Porto Rico during the next year or two unless the school system is most extravagantly administered. Perhaps these gentlemen will profit from American methods and will learn how to spend one million dollars where half a million dollars might do, but for the present, we cannot assume that they will learn so quickly, inasmuch as we are told they are not up to our standard of civilization. They are in dire distress now. They need a great deal of money to restore their bridges and their roads and their public works. Now what do they propose? And it seems to me they ought to be left to judge for themselves as to what is best for them. They want the privilege of issuing a few million bonds. They don't ask any guarantee from the United States; they simply want us to permit them to do it. Ought they to be allowed to do it? Porto Rico to-day has not got a single dollar of public indebtedness. When the United States took charge of Porto Rico, they had one and a half million dollars in their treasury. Once before in the history of that island they had a public debt. Mr. Chairman, in 1873 the Porto Ricans, out of their own sense of humanity, manumitted, emancipated thirty-nine thousand slaves, and they paid for the freedom of those slaves by issuing eight million dollars of bonds, and they repaid them with interest within fourteen years, making up a payment

of altogether twelve million dollars, without the guarantee of anybody, without the consent of anybody. Can such a people be trusted to issue bonds to the extent of three or four million dollars, or even if it were necessary, ten million dollars, so as to raise the money with which to restore their public works? Why, this revenue that Brother Perley talks about would come in dribblets in the course of a year, but they need their bridges and their roads now, and they cannot get them in any other way than by getting the money right now, at once, quick.

Now, I shall not go into any dissertation as to whether the importer or the exporter pays the tax. It don't make any difference. There is one thing certain, from Mr. Perley's admission, that the Porto Ricans will pay at least half of the duties collected; and that tax will not be a tax levied equally and justly upon the people of Porto Rico. Particularly will they have to pay a tax upon bread, flour, pork and other means of subsistence, which the poor people who cannot afford to pay any taxes need just as much as the rich man. I say a tax of that sort is iniquitous when applied to a down-trodden, oppressed and impoverished people, as the Porto Ricans now are. That alone condemns the proposition as infamous. And the duty on imports of tobacco and sugar into the United States will not raise any revenue, but will be prohibitive; it will act as a barrier against such importations.

But it is feared that this precedent will be established, and the gentleman tells us, "Why, if we admit that the Constitution applies to Porto Rico, we must also admit that it applies to the Philippines, and, that law operating, the Asiatic laborers will come into the United States." Why yes, certainly that is the consequence; nobody denies it. Now what of it? Mr. Perley says we will have to give up the Philippines. Horrible thought!

This is the argument, gentlemen: If the Constitution does apply, then we will have to admit the Filipinos into this country. But we don't want the Filipinos to come into this country, therefore the Constitution don't apply. Now, gentlemen, that is a kind of a posteriori logic which I confess I cannot appreciate. If we find that the Constitution does apply, why it applies, and that is the end of it. And we cannot say the Constitution does not apply, because we have done some things which we now may find necessary to undo because of disagreeable consequences arising under the Constitution. Gentlemen, the question is not so much, shall the Constitution govern Porto Rico, as shall the Constitution govern us? Shall it be a limitation upon

the power of Congress, or shall Congress and the President have absolute, tyrannical, despotic power over the dependencies? That is the question, gentlemen: Shall we have a republic or an empire?

But the absolute want of logic in the opposing argument becomes still more apparent when you consider this: Because, forsooth, our giving free trade to Porto Rico might be cited as a precedent for the Philippines, therefore we must not give free trade to Porto Rico, although nobody claims that to give free trade to Porto Rico is contrary to the Constitution. It certainly is in accordance with the Constitution to give them free trade. Now, they say we must not give them free trade because it might be considered a concession to the claim that the Constitution does apply to Porto Rico. We must violate our plain duty simply for fear that somebody may make some claim that may not suit us. Well, now, why cannot we wait to cross the bridge of the Philippines till we get to it?

And then another thing, gentlemen. There is a very much simpler way, if we want to establish a precedent that the Constitution does not apply. The argument of these gentlemen is that the term United States simply means the states, that it does not include the territories. The claim of all these gentlemen, in Congress and out of Congress, is that the territories like Alaska and Arizona and Oklahoma are not part of the United States in the sense that the Constitution applies there. Then why not, I pray you, establish a tariff against Arizona or against Oklahoma, whose inhabitants can stand it a great deal better than the poor Porto Ricans? But without taking up any time on the question of the Constitution, I simply want to read you a few words here from the Constitution. It says: "The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States." They shall be uniform throughout the United States.

Again, if Porto Rico is not a part of the United States, what is it? Then it is a foreign country. What right have we, if Porto Rico is a foreign country, to lay a tax upon goods leaving a state of the Union to go to another country? That would be laying a tax upon exports, which is expressly forbidden by the Constitution.

But I have here before me an opinion by Chief Justice Marshall, than whom there never was a greater jurist in this country, that says in unequivocal terms that the term United States as used in the

Constitution, and especially in the clause which I just read, applies to the territories as well as to the states. But I will not stop to read that; I will not weary you with any legal lore.

There is only one more word that I have to say. We have placed the flag of the United States in Porto Rico. A beautiful word occurs to me that Judge Woods recently said at a banquet here in this city. He said: "Wherever our flag goes, let us be careful to give the people to understand that it has not only stripes, but stars, too."

THE CHAIRMAN: The question whether the Porto Rico tariff bill shall become a law or not, is now, in the language of the street, "up to you." We shall listen with pleasure to five minute speeches from any members who have a message to give us.

MR. JOSEPH B. MOOS: In reference to this question, I have heard frequently the same assertion that the first speaker made this evening, namely, that the trusts own the products at present in Porto Rico, and these products are supposed to be sugar and tobacco. I don't know anything about sugar, but I am in the tobacco business, and in the cigar business, and not being directly a manufacturer I have no prejudices whatever. Acting as a jobber, and making it my business to try and buy goods as cheap as I can, and sell them for as much money as I can get, I have found it compatible with my business to thoroughly keep track of this question. As far back as the Spanish war, the merits of the case were freely discussed among the tobacco men, as far as the acquisition of tobacco growing lands would affect our business. And I have made a number of trips to the East to consult a number of men there who are interested in the manufacture of cigars, to find what changes would be necessary in case we have free trade with any of these islands. In the first place, although I am in the cigar business, I know of no tobacco trust that appertains to cigars. There is a tobacco trust, known as the American and Continental Tobacco Company, which controls the largest percentage of the output of the plug and smoking tobacco of the United States, also cigarettes.

The tobacco of Porto Rico is not used for chewing purposes and could not be used for cigarette purposes by Americans, as American cigarette smokers do not like that kind of tobacco. It is too natural and too strong. The only use the Porto Rican tobacco

could be put to, would be in the manufacture of cigars as a filler tobacco, such as is used and grown in the states of Connecticut, Pennsylvania, New York and Wisconsin. It would compete only with the cheaper grades of American tobacco. It would not compete with Havana tobacco, not being fit for the same kind of a cigar. The market that the Porto Ricans are anxious to get for their tobacco, is a market for a tobacco at a price anywhere from ten to twenty-five cents per pound. This market they had in the past in Spain and in Cuba, where it was imported and sold in Havana cigars as a filler. At the present time the tobacco of Porto Rico is owned by no trust or combination of men. That is an absolute statement that I am willing to go on record on. It is owned by the people who have placed it in the warehouses, and are waiting for a purchaser, and the purchasers do not come. They want to turn this tobacco into money, and the only way they can turn it into money is to sell it to other than their own people. They cannot sell it to Spain; they cannot sell it to Cuba; and they cannot sell it to the United States if they have to pay a tax to get it in here. It may be true that the consumer pays the tax, and we might pay the tax if we imported, but, knowing the fact, the American people are not going to import; consequently it will stay in Porto Rico and rot unless it gets a market. The market that they want is the United States, and it is a big market. At the same time those men who are in business know that the full amount of tobacco grown in Porto Rico will not displace sufficient American tobacco to be any hardship upon the growers. I am personally acquainted with the Secretary of the New England Tobacco Growers' Association, and have frequently had friendly arguments with him. And he freely admits they are not afraid of Porto Rico tobacco, but they are afraid of the possibilities of the Philippine tobacco.

MR. EDMUND H. SMALLEY: I stand as an old-time Republican, craving your indulgence for even alluding at all to parties. I come from that banner Republican state of the Union, the State of Minnesota, that to-day is in open rebellion against its representatives in Congress on account of the position they have taken in this matter. Now I say, Mr. Chairman, we believe, not as Democrats, but as Republicans, that we have come to the turning of the ways. We believe we have reached a crisis, and it is going to be met, and we are going to attempt to meet it within the Republican ranks.

Now, Mr. Chairman, for the first time in the history of this government, is this position to-day taken. Look at the cessions of ter-

ritory that have been added to the United States. First, the Louisiana purchase; was there any thought of taxing that country different from the balance of the Union? Then the Florida purchase. Subsequently the vast acquisitions from Mexico, subsequently Alaska, and several in the meantime. Always with one accord has it been repeatedly followed and never denied that all the national laws are applicable to every particle of these acquisitions. So that to-day no man, unless he be an ignoramus of the law or of American history, can question, Mr. Chairman, that it is a settled proposition, settled beyond peradventure, foreclosed beyond argument, that these various cessions coming into our territory, become subject to the laws of the United States, subject to the acts of Congress. But those acts shall be uniform throughout the entire dominion of the United States. And what do we now find? We now find that that idea was announced after much opposition in the Constitutional Convention, Madison opposing it, that there must be no tax upon exports under any circumstances; that there must be no preference of one port over the other; that there must be throughout the entire dominion equality of taxation. And now what do we find? We find that it is proposed to tax imports from Porto Rico, which is to-day American soil, whose citizens are American citizens. We find the President changing his mind. Why? What has induced our worthy executive to change his mind since the middle of December? We don't know; we leave that to be inferred; but it is the exigencies of a presidential election. Some things are worse than a party defeat, and one of them is a plain violation of those three limitations which are imposed by the Constitution of the United States upon Congress. Let any man read the debates within the last few weeks, and then take down the *Federalist*, and see the debates in the Constitutional Convention. Why, they are nearly alike. Why must there be no tax upon exports? Why, as was said by Gouverneur Morris, and well said, in the Constitutional Convention, that will always give a majority the right to unfairly tax a minority. South Carolina, during the year preceding the Constitutional Convention, had exported six hundred million pounds sterling of cotton. If a tax had been put upon exports, South Carolina would have paid an unfair tax. Put a tax on the exportation of wheat, and Minnesota pays an unfair tax. And therefore, in the judgment of the Constitutional Convention, never should it be permitted to put a tax upon exports. And now it is announced that these have no application to a country that belongs to and is solidly as much a part of the United States to-day as the State of Illinois, and I for one enter my protest seriously against it, and believe as a partisan and as an American citizen, that it is one of the greatest mistakes that we can think of making.

And no man, nor body of men, will violate those constitutional provisions with impunity. The people have put them there; the people are the great custodians of the rights of this country; they have placed them there for a reason, and President McKinley and the Senate and the House are bound to heed them. No petty argument, gentlemen, will answer. That Congress has exclusive jurisdiction over territory is not denied. Nobody denies that. That was true of Texas, and true of Florida, and of all the country that came to us. Nobody questions that. But with that legislation came those three restrictions, and now, forsooth, they seek to avoid those three restrictions.

MR. HENRY RIGGS RATHBONE: I did not expect to speak when I came here this evening, but there have been some things said which I do not desire to let go by unanswered. Aspersions have been cast upon the President of the United States; that he not a man of principle. I wish to say that I for one believe that he is a man of principle, and if it is for any one reason that he has been raised to the exalted position of chief executive, it is and was because he is a man of principle and a man of his convictions. The people of this country have that confidence in him that when the McKinley bill seemed to be overwhelmed with a mass of popular feeling, he did not yield one inch on that measure, but he stood by, with his colors nailed to the mast, and public sentiment has come to him again, with an overwhelming majority.

If William McKinley has changed his mind, it is not for any lack of principle; it is for one of two reasons. It may be because his convictions have changed. If so, what of it? Has not a man a right to see the new light? I do not believe that man to be the best or the greatest man who never had changed his mind. The greatest men of history have repeatedly changed their minds in the most important particulars. If he has done so, then he has done so from conviction, from conscience. For the reason that he has had that principle which you deny to him to-night. If he has done so, then he has done so, and he is ready to answer to the American people again as he has done so before, because of his opinions. If, however—which may be true—he still believes that it is unwise to put a tax upon imports into Porto Rico, there may be other reasons which have since intervened. Reasons of the utmost importance, reasons of harmony; reasons the necessity for which he knows and is alive to, which may change the situation, which may throw an added weight into the

balance, and which may make it important for him in his opinion to take the other side. He may not have yielded his former convictions, but the other side may have come in, which has not changed the situation. I do not pretend to say why, but I do say this, that I have all confidence in him as a man. I prefer to take my stand with William McKinley, and I feel confident that he is right.

Now, gentlemen, I have spoken with some warmth. This charge comes from one of that set of men who, less than four years ago, be it remembered, were looking to him as their only salvation, and it may be possible that the little story of the dog, so amusing to us all, may have a further application than the gentleman thought. It may be again that the great leader of the silverites will take his stand, and it may be again that the eloquent speaker may desire to be like that dog, and to run at the same time in opposite directions, and to bark at both ends at both candidates again. The gentleman says, with a magnificent burst of sarcastic eloquence, "Shall we give up the Philippines? Horrible thought!" I say to me, at least, it would be a horrible thought, under the present situation, to give up the Philippines. What! After having opened the dungeon doors and allowed these people to see the light of freedom, to breathe the air of liberty, shall we have the heart to close those doors again upon them and to consign them to barbarism rule? I do not believe the American people will be in favor of that system. The light of Dewey's cannon, which illumined the night of barbarism in those islands, has kindled there the light of liberty, which shall never be put out.

MR. DANIEL M. LORD: I, like the gentleman who has just preceded me, did not intend to say a word this evening; but I am constrained to reply to him in one thing, and to say that, if some of us, like the dog, barked at the other end, we will be able to tell why we do so, and that our honored President has not been able to do up to to-day. Don't forget that. I acknowledge the right of any man to change his opinion, but when he comes out in a public message to Congress, giving the whys and the wherefores, and appeals to right and justice, and then turns around and goes the other way and keeps still, I say some of us have got a right to protest. Those are simple facts, and Mr. Rathbone cannot deny them.

I read in the Record yesterday morning the letter of William E. Curtis, and he was commenting on the condition of things in Congress, and the fact that the Republican party was so torn, and he

said, "The Republicans have found expansion a regular Pandora box from the beginning," and there are some of us who may vote for Bryan—I don't say that I am going to—the next time—who warn these gentlemen that that is the question. Mr. McKinley has ruled the Porto Ricans with a military government. He is the head of the military power of this government, and he has been collecting from them two million dollars. Mr. McKinley had the power to remit that if he wanted to. All he had to do was to carry his own ideas out. Now, if the Porto Ricans are suffering and are in need, as he says they are, and as we all know they are, why, in the goodness of his heart, did not this great and good man save them the two million dollars? He had the power. He is a military despot in our new possessions. Look at the sarcasm, the ridiculousness of the situation to-day. The very Congress which is voting to tax the Porto Ricans is passing a bill to let the Hawaiians in. But the Porto Ricans, no. What is the meaning of it?

A VOICE: Claus Spreckles.

MR. LORD: Yes, that is what I was going to say. Claus Spreckles has a good deal to do over there, and his sugar comes in free. Oh, that won't affect things. Gentlemen, I tell you any sober-minded citizen who stops a moment to think will tremble at the condition that our country is in, and as Mr. Zeisler says, we want to see whether our Constitution affects us. We are more anxious about that; the student of history, the student of to-day, is more anxious about how these steps that we are taking affect us than they are the islands across the sea. Don't forget that. We have different opinions from many of you, but we have them because we believe in them as much as you do in your own. We have given this matter thought. The wisest men and the greatest students of the country warn you of the dangers that are to come. I have less fear from the Philippines, because when the protected interests get to the point, they will drop them; they will get rid of them. Don't you worry about it. But what will be the effect upon us? Military rule is foreign to us. Our government is built on one principle alone, that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed. And how much consent is there in Porto Rico or the Philippines to-day? Just as much an absolute government as the government of Russia. William McKinley can do what he pleases as a master in each of those places, and there isn't a word can reach him by law,

Now, if we are going into the military business, I want to begin right here in Chicago. I tell you General Anderson could take two regiments of soldiers, with the cabinet he could choose, and he would give Chicago a much better government than it has to-day, as you can imagine. I don't care what your wildest dream is. Now what do you say on the other side? What kind of citizens would it make in ten years? You would be slaves. He would say, "Don't you kiss your wives," and he could enforce it. "Be in at nine," and he could enforce it. Would the citizens of Chicago be good citizens or would they be absolute slaves? Gentlemen, beware; this Porto Rican business is but one move on the chess board, and beware how it will affect us.

MR. WILLIAM F. CARROLL: I am something like the rest of the gentlemen here; I came here for information this evening. I was somewhat on the fence on this Porto Rican business, and I am yet in a great many ways. But the Sunset Club and other organizations outside of Congress are settling the destinies of this nation. Every man thinks he can run a newspaper and poke a fire, as I saw in a paper the other day. We are always poking at this fire and running this newspaper. Now I think, candidly and quietly, as a calm and peaceable citizen who has studied the career of William McKinley and a great many of our other great men—I think that when William McKinley seems before the American people to change his opinion, he has a sufficient reason for changing it. That is the history of that man from boyhood. He has been consistent. He has been honorable to principle; upright and honorable in all his life, during all the political campaigns, and in all the aspersions that are made in a political campaign against any man, William McKinley's honesty was never attacked by his worst enemies.

Why down south in some of the Democratic states—I was in a few of them—Mark Hanna was running for President, and not William McKinley. They did not dare attack Mr. McKinley or say one word against him. Why you know how he stood when he was Congressman and was the author of the McKinley bill; how he stood the slurs and the insinuations and the slanders and the cursing from a certain party because of this McKinley bill that was going to rob the working man and everybody else. Do you remember how they went to the workingmen in the fall of 1890 and said, "You are going to pay double for your dinner pail what you pay now." And a poor old Irishman who had not had any work for some time, said, "I haven't

any occasion for having a dinner pail now, for I have not anything to put in it. If Mr. McKinley will give me some work, I don't care what he charges me for my dinner pail." Now you remember how he went all through that campaign. He did not change his principles of protection, and under the McKinley law, from 1890 to 1892, we had the most prosperous years we ever had in the history of the country, and since he has been President, and since 1897, we have had the most prosperous times that we ever had, away ahead of 1892, almost double the trade. Now, I believe that there is a good reason for what may seem a wobble on this point. The last measure agreed on at the Committee meeting at Congress and in the conference of the Senate is to this effect: That the articles from the United States can go into Porto Rico for nothing, no tariff. Now remember that Porto Rico, in the last few years of its history, taking the statistics of the Treasury Department the last two or three years, Porto Rico takes in various forms, nearly two hundred articles produced in this country, manufactured articles, instruments of all kinds, clothing, most anything we manufacture in this country, nearly two hundred articles. We have imported off and on, on an average of twenty-two articles from Porto Rico, tobacco, sugar, coffee, constitute the great bulk; the other items do not amount to anything whatever. Now, then, you know as every day citizens that the sugar grown in this country and the sugar that comes into this country is controlled by a trust, and there is a coffee trust, and there is a tobacco trust. It may not be in this gentleman's line of business who spoke; and I think I differ from Mr. Lord as to Hawaiian sugar getting in free; I think there is a tariff on sugar; and I think the Republicans passed a law which makes Mr. Spreckels pay a tariff on it.

MR. LORD: You ought to read. You don't know what you are talking about.

MR. CARROLL: Now the Democrats put so much sympathy upon the Porto Ricans and the inhabitants of the Philippines. Why, the inhabitants of the Philippines, those outrageous Malays, those ignorant savages don't compare in honesty and education with the negroes of South Carolina and Georgia which the Democratic party disfranchised. I believe one reason why McKinley has flopped is to get this question into the United States Supreme Court at once, as to whether these Philippines and Porto Ricans come under the Constitution because we are governing them.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Zeisler will now have ten minutes to close his side of the debate.

MR. ZEISLER: Mr. Chairman, it was not my intention to have this debate drift into a discussion of Mr. William McKinley, either as to his personal characteristics or as to his political record. I regret that a little pleasantry which I indulged in, not so much for the purpose of assailing the President, as to enliven the debate and make less dreary my otherwise too dull remarks, gave occasion to impassioned defenses of the President. If that question were the question for discussion, I think I could answer the gentlemen. I could remind him and the other speakers who stated that Mr. McKinley always was true to principle, of the fact that Mr. McKinley, down to the very day of his nomination, was a free silver man, and that all of a sudden, because the party platform declared for the gold standard, he became a gold standard man. That is an absolute fact. That is absolute history, proven by the speeches of Mr. McKinley in Congress and out of Congress for years before the campaign of 1896. I could remind the gentleman also of the fact that Mr. McKinley always was a consistent civil service reformer, until a year ago he took ten thousand places out of the classified list, and put them at the disposal of the spoils men. I could remind the gentleman of the chameleon-like changes that Mr. McKinley's opinions underwent in regard to the question as to whether it was good policy for the United States to take over the Philippines or not. As has very well been said by ex-Governor Boutwell during the discussion of the question of imperialism, it will always be well not to confuse the issue with what Mr. McKinley says. He always expresses himself both ways on every question. He always keeps his ear close to the ground and listens to the voice of the people, and then arranges his convictions to suit what he believes will be popular. That is Mr. McKinley all over, and nobody but a partisan can speak differently of him.

Now I want to answer the gentleman who referred to the fact that I and some others of similar convictions voted for Mr. McKinley in 1896. We voted for him because the question at issue then was whether we should debase our currency and repudiate from 50 per cent to 60 per cent of all debts public and private, or whether we should have honesty and maintenance of the public faith; and that being the question, that being the issue, we, being men of principle, did not care a fig for the Democratic party to which we had belonged, but voted for Mr. McKinley simply as a matter of conviction and principle. It may be, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen, that we who

in 1896 voted for Mr. McKinley upon the silver issue will vote against him on the question of imperialism when that, as likely it will be, is the issue of the next campaign. But that will not be barking at both ends and running both ways. Not a bit of it. It will be running in the same direction, both times in the direction of truth and honesty, of honor, of humanity, of justice; both times in the same direction and not in different directions. But what do we find in Mr. McKinley? Mr. McKinley says that there can be no such thing as imperialism in the United States, that everybody in this country abhors it, and no imperialistic designs lurk in the heart of any American president. While saying this he is acting the despot over twelve millions of people. What do you call imperialism? What does Mr. McKinley mean by imperialism when he says there isn't any? Why, I call imperialism government without representation of the governed; taxation without representation; governing people not according to the Constitution, but according to the sweet will of the government; that is imperialism and nothing else. And all your attempts to becloud the facts by talking about expansion cannot get us away from the plain fact that we have established imperialism in the Philippines, and are about to establish the principles of imperialism in Porto Rico to-day.

Other things have come in to change the situation, Mr. Rathbone tells us. What are they? Did Mr. McKinley advise us? Did he advise Congress in a message sent to it, telling it of the change in the situation? Why, he sends for the congressmen to come into the White House by the back door, and asks them to vote for this bill so that it should not be too plainly seen that McKinley who said it was our plain duty to give free trade to the Porto Ricans now eats his own words.

I will not talk in reply to the suggestion of the gentleman on my right that we have had prosperous times under Mr. McKinley, and that these prosperous times are due to Mr. McKinley. I rather think, gentlemen, that an intelligent audience like this ought to be beyond such nursery tales.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, lest you should miss the point, I wish to call attention to the fact that the question is: "The Porto Rican Tariff Bill—should it become a law?" Mr. Perley will be heard from.

MR. E. E. PERLEY: I have been examining my menu card

here to find out whether I am in St. Petersburg or Chicago. Mr. Zeisler has shown you that great jurist John Marshall going down the constitutional turnpike in one direction; I will call your attention to that illustrious man meandering in the opposite direction. In the fifth Wheaton he used this language: "If then a direct tax be laid at all it must be laid on every State conformable to the rules provided in the Constitution. Congress has clearly no power to exempt any State from its due share of the burden, but this regulation is expressly confined to the States and creates no necessity for extending the tax to the District or Territories." In another case in the first Wheaton the same illustrious Chief Justice remarked: "It has been attempted to distinguish a territory from the District of Columbia, but the Court is of the opinion that this distinction cannot be maintained. They may differ in many respects, but neither of them is a State in the sense in which that word is used in the Constitution."

MR. ZEISLER: May I ask you a question?

MR. PERLEY: Most assuredly.

MR. ZEISLER: Don't you make a distinction between a certain portion of the United States being a State and on the other hand the question as to what is meant by the term United States?

MR. PERLEY: For brevity I will read a paragraph from the speech of Mr. Long that answers directly that question:

"The term United States has two meanings. In its geographical sense it refers to all the States and Territories, districts and possessions, where the authority of this government exists. In another sense it refers to the States united, which are a source of all power and government. In this restricted sense, it is used in the Constitution. The people of the United States in the preamble of the Constitution, refers to the people of States, not of Territories. The Congress of the United States is composed of senators and representatives from the different States. The President is selected by the people of the States, and the judicial power of the United States is derived from the States and not from the Territories." It is not necessary for me here to attempt to defend any alleged wrong, or to attempt to explain an apparent contradiction in the attitude of any public official. As a people we have great confidence in our institutions and in the general scheme of the administration of our affairs. We have a system of evolution in official life, by which the people in their

majesty may put out of office an unfaithful servant. We may lose our confidence in the individual; we may not be satisfied with explanations he may make of apparently contradictory positions; but of one thing you can be assured, and that is the people, the intelligent people of the United States, cannot be fooled all the time on all propositions. I have no apprehension from imperialism. I have no apprehension from the despotism of an official, whether he occupies the Presidency of the United States or the Mayoralty of a city. I have no apprehension of an injustice deliberately perpetrated upon the people of Porto Rico or of the Philippines, any more than I have fear of a similar wrong perpetrated upon you and upon me. A people who in their majesty have risked the very existence of their own nation, a people who were content to engage in the battles of the most frightful civil conflict of which the world has ever known, for the purpose of liberating eight million slaves; a people who have in their magnanimity and generosity opened this magnificent country of ours to the downtrodden of the world; this country that is to-day the Mecca of the oppressed; this country that is to-day the leaven in the great family of nations, that is bringing monarchy and despotism to its senses, and that eventually will bring about the liberation of the oppressed in every nation—I say, this nation, not in its rulers but in its people, can be trusted at all times to extend liberty to all within its borders and to give to every man his just due and his just protection.

Adjourned.

JOSEPH W. HINER,
Secretary.

ONE HUNDRED AND THIRD MEETING

APRIL 12, 1900

EIGHTY-SEVEN PRESENT

SUBJECT:

The Outlook for the Professional Man

CHAIRMAN: MR. L. WILBUR MESSER

ADDRESSES BY

MR. E. M. ASHCRAFT

REV. W. W. FENN

DR. JOHN M. DODSON

MR. TRUMAN A. DE WEESE

GENERAL DISCUSSION BY

DR. ARCHIBALD CHURCH

MR. WALLACE RICE

REV. M. S. TERRY



ONE HUNDRED AND THIRD MEETING.

Held at the Palmer House, Thursday, April 12, 1900.

Eighty-seven Present.

The Outlook for the Professional Man.

THE SECRETARY: A few days ago President Harper of the University of Chicago stated that he never asked anybody to give a penny to his institution. That was quite a surprise to the public, because the Doctor had enjoyed quite a reputation, I might say a national reputation, as a high pressure beggar. A day or two later it was announced that the University had just received gifts amounting to \$2,000,000, which enabled it to secure a couple of millions more of oil money. All this of course, if we are to take the Doctor literally, came without solicitation. We naturally infer that our professional brethren who are connected with our institutions of learning have very easy sailing financially, much easier than the members of any other profession.

We have with us to-night a member of the Sunset Club, Mr. L. Wilbur Messer, who as Secretary of the Young Men's Christian Association, is, like Dr. Harper, engaged in educational work. He has, I suppose, the same easy access to the coffers of millionaires that Dr. Harper has. To him, therefore, the discussion this evening will be of academic interest only. Practically, it cannot concern him. He has no occasion to pass the hat. He simply leaves it where philanthropists can find it. From his eyrie in the tall building on Lasalle street, he looks with equanimity on the struggles of his less fortunate

professional brethren. He may make an exception in the case of his brethren who happen to be tenants of the building belonging to his institution. He probably watches their struggles with some degree of interest as rent day approaches.

It is now my very pleasant duty to introduce the Chairman of the evening, Mr. L. Wilbur Messer.

MR. L. WILBUR MESSER: After some twenty years of struggle in an occupation somewhat unique to this day and generation, it is very inspiring and refreshing to be recognized by the Sunset Club as a professional man. I have been looking for some much recognition and am now ready to close up my work with great satisfaction, if necessary, after achieving this honor. The city press has reported recently, and of course truthfully, that President Harper is on his way to Europe to engage in University extension work; that he is to lecture before the crowned heads of Europe and in the great universities, and that his most popular lecture will be on the sense of touch—the financial touch. I am interested in this subject, but am unlike Dr. Harper in the respect that I ask for money, but am like him in the fact that my telephone is always on my desk.

Emerson has said that the crowning virtue of a man is a bias towards some pursuit which brings employment and happiness. Divine Providence has given a kit of tools and a bench to every man. The great question is to bring the man and the tools and the bench together. A misfit lawyer may lose the fortune of his client, the misfit journalist may blast the reputation of one or more in a community, a misfit physician may close up one's life on earth very quickly, and misfit clergymen may make his chances very doubtful for the future world. It is of vital importance that a professional man shall find his place and be suited to his particular calling.

It is an interesting statement that one per cent of the men in this country are college bred men, but that fifty-two per cent of this one per cent are men who are conspicuous in professions or business. This indicates the importance of the subject before us this evening. I do not feel that it is incumbent upon the Chairman to speak to the topic. His mission is to touch the button at the beginning and close of the discussion, perhaps to call in the police or the fire department, as occasion may require. It is our privilege, gentlemen of the club, to first listen to Mr. E. M. Ashcraft, who will speak for the legal profession.

MR. E. M. ASHCRAFT: At no time has so much been demanded from the professional man as at this time, and at no time has the reward been so great, nor the promise for the future better, when the quality demanded is supplied.

The goal is difficult to attain and but few succeed, but to the few who do succeed the compensation is liberal, for it assures a reasonable competence—at least the respect of mankind, and, above all, the good opinion of the co-laborers in the profession who know much of the obstacles to be overcome.

There never was a time when the skilled surgeon could so nearly approach the throne of reason, where mind and matter meet—where blood and tissue join in the delicate lobes of the brain to form reason and vitalize the ever receding life spark, to remove a diseased member or repair an injury, as now, and there never was so intelligent, critical or appreciative a public to criticize or laud his skill and success.

With anatomy, physiology and hygiene taught in the grammar schools, followed by chemistry, etc., in the higher grades, higher attainments and professional skill are required of the physician and surgeon, but if the skill and ability is supplied, he is sure of its appreciation and reward.

The congregation is no longer satisfied with a minister whose religious education has been confined to the writings of Wesley or Calvin.

The educated and reading parishioner has learned something of the beautiful principles of the religion taught by the Buddhist, of the remarkable wisdom of the Koran, and demands that his minister shall have an intimate knowledge of the efforts of men in all time to be just and God-like, and a minister broad enough to know that all the good in the world is not confined to any one church. He must be a man broadened by a study of the religions of all times—of all creeds—of the world—of men and their emotions and motives.

To the lawyer, the high round of success is continually ascending and becoming more and more difficult to reach. No other profession or calling in this country has been so highly honored.

The three branches of government have been substantially delegated to the lawyer. But three Presidents were without a legal education, and a majority of Congress, of Legislators, as well as the Judiciary, have been lawyers.

People have learned that to be able to amend a law, knowledge of the law to be amended is required. The knowledge of the law is necessary to one who would interpret it as Judge or Advocate.

High standards of ability and character have been established, and the difficulties of reaching them are continually multiplying.

In the Declaration of Independence, Articles of Confederation and Constitution are found the embodiment of the best principles of Magna Charta, and of the common law, and abundant evidence that their authors were students of the efforts of mankind in all ages to secure liberty of person and to protect the rights of property.

To the lawyer of to-day, as he meditates upon the achievements and opportunities of the founders of our organic law, who drew so deeply from the fountains of wisdom coming to them from all time, to the achievements of Webster and Clay and scores of others—of the judicial wisdom of Marshall, Kent and Story, it seems almost hopeless to even attempt to emulate them.

Prominence is more difficult to attain now, and will be more difficult in the future.

Lincoln and Douglas were great lawyers. The cases in which they appeared as counsel in the Supreme Court are found in nine or ten volumes of Supreme Court reports.

It would be easy to find a score of lawyers in this city, any one of whom has had more cases in the Supreme Court than both Lincoln and Douglas, and whose cases are found in more than a hundred reports, and whose names, if mentioned, you would hardly recognize.

There are now over fifteen thousand text books of the law, and there are in this country over five thousand volumes of reported cases. They could not be read by one person in a century. When the herculean task is considered it is no wonder many are tempted to learn enough of the technicalities, or technical definitions of the law, which may be learned in a few years, to enable them to pass the bar examination, and then trust to the night-mare of *stare decisis* to find a case on "all fours"—to maintain a precarious existence at the bar, or to use their small learning as an admission to the vestibule of politics.

If this tendency, with an apparent tendency to commercialism is not religiously combated, to look for permanence in our laws or jurisprudence, or for the maintenance of the high standing of the lawyer, is to look for fixed landmarks among the shifting sandhills of the desert.

There is, however, and always will be, a hopeful outlook for the good lawyer.

To the man who learns that the administration of justice is the great end of human society—that all the complex machinery of government has for its object that a magistrate shall sit in purity and intelligence to administer justice, and insists that every place where a Judge sits, although the arena be a contentious one, where debate runs high and warm, shall yet be over all a temple where faith and truth abides—who scorns every form of meanness or disreputable practice—who is endowed with a mind well equipped, and who will, by unwearied industry, master the vast and complex technical learning and detail of his profession, and who, not satisfied with this, studies the eternal principles of justice, as developed and illustrated in the history of the law and the jurisprudence of other times and nations, there is a bright outlook.

Too much cannot be said in favor of preliminary education, preparatory to a study of the law. There is no branch of business which the lawyer, in the pursuit of his profession, may not be called upon to investigate and do business with. To the lawyer, however, who has prepared himself with a liberal education, and who has been willing to forego the enjoyment of club and social life largely, and devote himself to a diligent study of the elementary principles of the law—of its history—of the principles of right and wrong—of the sources of the law, and who has devoted his time and thought to the study of principles, and not technicalities, there is a bright future—to him the outlook is fair.

To illustrate: We, in Chicago, are suffering from a defective municipal organization. A magnificent city has grown up, where but a few years ago a rural form of government was sufficient.

The "town meeting" form of government, long since abandoned in older municipalities, remains, an incubus and not a benefit.

We find a half dozen or more taxing powers within the limits of the city.

I hold it is the imperative duty of the lawyers who have studied municipal government—who are not only familiar with the inconveniences and wrongs we are suffering, but who are familiar with the struggles of municipalities similarly situated in all ages—to lend their assistance to remedy this evil. Who can better avoid the errors which ruined Rome or Athens than the man who has studied their rise and fall?

The difficulties we have to contend with were met and in a measure overcome in the history of Glasgow, London, Boston and other municipalities of our own country. The man who is familiar with municipal reform can and should aid, as a public servant, in relieving the City of Chicago. Constitutional amendments and legislative enactments are imperatively necessary. The demands of the present and of the future will require that the legal profession shall furnish this relief.

The vast expanse of our territory, its rich and abundant resources, with the inventions and application of machinery, steam and electricity, have made possible the accumulation of great fortunes and the formation of powerful combinations.

One man with a machine is doing the work that required thirty to fifty men a few years ago, with the result that many are left out of employment. The world has not adjusted itself to these circumstances, and the violent disruption in commercial conditions produces distress, doubt and distrust. Many of these combinations are organized upon franchises granted by the State. In many cases they are a menace to the public welfare; the public utilities are seized upon by them and large fortunes are made in a day out of grants belonging to the people.

The lawyer of the future is called upon to guard the State against assaults or encroachments upon individual enterprises, as well as the delusive dangers of socialism and anarchy.

The correct solution of many of the problems which are presented now, and which will arise in the future, are almost as vital as those presented at the time of the Declaration of Independence.

Shall it be said that corporations deriving their legal existence from the State—created by the State—enjoying life created by the State—enjoying a part of the sovereignty reserved to the people of the State, shall exist and shall enjoy a monopoly of public utilities, without any restraining influence of the State? Or will the lawyer of the future provide healthy restrictions?

May it not be for the public good that the books and records of such corporations shall be open to the inspection of public authorities?—that some regulations shall be adopted to prevent the creation and sale of “watered stock?”—that some regulations may be adopted by which a reasonable income only shall be realized from the amount invested, where the right to the use of streets, sidewalks or any part or portion of public property or public utilities are enjoyed by these corporations?

And while the legislator is devising means and methods of restraining and regulating bodies of its creation, so as to confine and regulate them in a reasonable manner, will it not also be wise to regulate, restrain and govern the action of organizations of its citizens tending to impair the liberty of the individual, and to prevent or restrain the free action of the citizen?

These problems, with many others, are open to be solved by the lawyer of the future, and may be solved with great credit, and with the result that the man, or men, who are successful, may have their names go down to posterity with the names of the founders of the Republic.

The lawyer of the future, therefore, to be successful as a legislator, or as an executive officer, must not only be a student of the law—of the history of the law, but a student of sociological problems which will in the future press themselves upon us.

To the man who can adjust the conflict now waging between capital and labor—yes, between capital on one side, and the State on the other; with labor on one side, and the Government on the other, because these two extremes alike are now arrayed against the public good, will be a benefactor.

The successful lawyer of the future must specialize to a greater extent than at present. The inventions of the present day demand a special training in patent law. There is much in the criminal law for the lawyer who will thoroughly prepare himself to follow it; while the commercial complications and the extent of corporate enter-

prises demand that the commercial and corporation lawyer shall devote himself to this line of business almost exclusively. There are few men with sufficient ability or sufficient learning to become successful as "all round" lawyers. But to the man who will equip himself for his profession, who devotes himself intelligently to his duties, honestly and with a reasonable degree of judgment, the outlook for the future is good.

The question is frequently asked of the legal profession, "What effect are the trusts forming in this country to have upon the lawyers?" I hear this question answered frequently by the lawyers who have been commercial and corporation lawyers for years, who have had a wide experience in matters of that kind, who usually say to the inquirer, that while the lawyers of the smaller corporations going into the trusts will be substantially without employment for a time, that it will be but a short time before they will be able to receive all the fees they have lost, with interest. It is, I think, the judgment of the better class of the legal profession that without regard to any moral questions involved, that a trust involving a business which is not of itself a natural monopoly is the weakest organization for business purposes. We observe that a great number of men whose industry, whose judgment, whose ability have built up these enterprises and who sold their interest to the trust, are as rapidly as they can conveniently do so, realizing upon their interest and retiring from business, or waiting until the trust will not disturb them in renewing it again.

As in the past, the lawyer of the future will have the experience of the lawyer of to-day. Once in twenty years, on the average, or about that, all the property of the State will go through the probate courts, and through the hands of lawyers. Not one one-hundredth part of one per cent will be lost by their dishonesty; it never has been and never will be.

The better class of lawyers in the future will have the same experience they do now.

The man who, when he is accumulating his fortune, employs the very best legal ability obtainable, when he dies his widow, nine times out of ten, will hire the cheapest lawyer she can get to settle the estate and invest the money. That is where the cheap lawyer comes in usually. That is the only opportunity I know of that that class of lawyer has, because when they succeed in getting a criminal case, or even a personal injury suit, the verdict or the reward is scarcely worth the effort of getting it. In the future, as in the past, the principal business of the better class of lawyers will be to keep his client out of litigation.

The lawyer of the future, like the lawyer of to-day, will find that his best friend is the man who makes his own will; that his

next best friend is the man who goes to the Notary Public or Justice of the Peace to draw his legal papers; and the commercial business, corporation business, criminal business, probate business, and the mistakes of the notaries and the men who do their own legal work will always furnish business for the better class of lawyers.

THE CHAIRMAN: The faculty member of a medical college is bound to develop a type of courage and bravery which would easily lead him if necessary to stand at the cannon's mouth. I am sure, therefore, that the next speaker will not hesitate to have the batteries of the Sunset Club trained upon his position later in the evening.

I heard recently of a professor in a west side medical school who came into the amphitheater where his class was assembled with a solemn face and saddened heart, and said to the students, "We are mourning to-day the loss of a distinguished member of the faculty. It teaches us a very important lesson of the uncertainty of life. None of us can tell what the morrow may bring forth. Indeed, it may even be possible for me on the morrow to be taken up there to the Heavenly Home where our friend is gone." "Whew," was the answer from every part of the auditorium from the students. These medical professors are accustomed to this sort of treatment in the amphitheaters where they often speak.

We shall next be pleased to listen to Dr. John M. Dodson, of Rush Medical College.

DR. JOHN M. DODSON: I take it that the Committee, in selecting this question for discussion, had in mind such a query as the young man about to choose a professional career would address to himself and his advising friends, "What is the outlook for the professional man?" and I am asked to answer this from the medical standpoint. If a young man were to address such a question to me, I think I should immediately ask him, "What are you looking out for?" for much would depend upon his point of view. Naturally he would reply, "Success." Then I should want to inquire, "What is your conception of success?" In the words of Dr. Billings of Washington, I think I could say to him that "to the young man about to select a professional career medicine to-day offers an opportunity for the employment of the highest mental faculties, for the increase of knowledge, for usefulness to the world and for the attainment of true happiness, such as no other profession presents." It is not meant to assert that it will secure to its followers all, or indeed any of these things, but that, given the same degree of intellect, and a good preliminary education, the probabilities are that out of a thousand young men taking up the study of medicine more will attain success than will do so among the same number of young men, of like char-

acter and attainments, who devote themselves to theology, to law, to education or to politics.

What is the meaning of success in this connection? I call that a successful career in which a man has done good work, the best of which he was capable, work in which he was strongly interested and which in itself gave him pleasure, work done unselfishly because he believed it to be good work which ought to be done, and not performed as a means, grudgingly made use of, to obtain wealth or power as the real objects sought. It is a career which has secured a happy home, with sufficient means to support it, although it may not have lead to wealth; it has brought its pursuer the approval and friendship of those best acquainted with his life and work, although it may not have made him famous or given him decorations and honors; it has made his advice valued and sought by those who knew him, although it may not have given him office or made him a ruler over his fellow-men.

Such a career does not protect from the afflictions and sorrows common to humanity, but it does away in great measure with boredom and ennui, with a weary waiting for something to turn up, and the work itself is the best resource against inevitable grief. The man who achieves such a career has not been dependent on his acquaintances for his happiness, he has not fretted and worried because his family, his friends, his associates or the State have not recognized his merit according to his conception of it, for he has acted on the principle that he exists for their benefit and that they are not merely his appendages.

But the young man may not have this idea of success. He may desire to make money, and in reply to his query, what is the opportunity and what is the outlook for making money in the medical profession, the most obvious source to seek an answer is an inquiry into the incomes of the medical men of to-day. From a somewhat careful inquiry made a short time ago by Dr. Shradý, of New York, it is estimated that the average income of the medical man in the large cities is about \$2,000. The average income of the profession in the smaller towns and rural villages is not above \$1,200 to \$1,500. This means that a very large number of men must live upon less than this, for this is stated as the average. Is the average income decreasing? I do not think so, and it is, even to-day, larger probably than in any other country in the world, notwithstanding the fact that we have in this country about one physician to every six hundred persons, while in Great Britain and Ireland there is about one to a thousand, in Germany about one to thirteen or fourteen hundred, and in the Scandinavian countries one to two thousand or twenty-five hundred. The people in this country are better able to pay physicians, the fees average to be somewhat higher and the distances which

separate people in the rural districts make it necessary to have more physicians to the same number of the population. The young man, however, would hardly be satisfied with an assertion as to the average income of the doctor, for every young man expects that he himself will be the one brilliant success who will climb to the top of the ladder, and so he would be more interested in an answer to the question, what is the greatest possible income which the physician may secure. So far as I have knowledge, the largest professional income ever made in Chicago by a physician is about \$80,000. There are perhaps two gentlemen of the medical profession of Chicago to-day who are making \$50,000 or more. I should say there may be eight or ten who are making more than \$25,000. There are perhaps one hundred making from \$10,000 to \$20,000, and the remainder of the thirty-five hundred physicians in the city range from that down. You see, therefore, that the largest possible income which a physician may attain is a mere bagatelle compared with the income of the successful merchant or the successful speculator, and hardly offers a large inducement to a man whose sole idea is making money. What is his social position and chance of social success? This to my mind depends far more in this democratic country of ours upon his personality and his individual attainments than upon his chosen vocation. In the aristocratic countries of Europe where caste lines are closely drawn, it makes considerable difference what a man's vocation in life may be as to the possible social position which he may attain. A sharp line is drawn between the doctor and certain other classes of the community, and he is distinctly lower in social rank in England, for example, than is the clergyman, or perhaps than the lawyer. Here in this country it matters little what a man does, we judge him by what he is, and he puts his impress upon the people about him in proportion to his real ability, his attainments and his education. Politically the doctor has so far played a small role in this country, much less than in European countries or even than in England, and I think the medical profession is somewhat open to criticism in this regard. There has been a feeling among the members of the profession that politics was something quite apart from the doctor's life, that his daily routine is so entirely divorced from anything of the nature of politics that he need not interest himself in those matters. It is my own feeling that the physician cannot, no more than can any other member of the community, absolve himself from the duties of citizenship. If he does interest himself in the affairs of his community, actively interest himself in the primaries and in the elections, being sure to be always thoroughly unselfish in it, to be seeking no office, and to have no personal ambition to gratify, there is, I am sure, no man in the community who can wield a larger influence; for no man comes into closer touch

with the people, and no one could have a larger voice for that reason with the voting constituency than the physician. And if perchance it be discovered by his neighbors and fellow citizens that he has conspicuous ability to serve them in some office or other, he should be ready to do this.

But to address myself to the question of the purely professional side, what are the attractions in the medical profession which make the outlook for the young man enticing? First, there is the opportunity for original research and investigation. Surely in no vocation are there greater problems pressing for solution at the present time than in medicine; problems which touch the community more closely or at more points. To illustrate, you are perhaps all of you aware, because so much has been said of these matters in the public press and magazine articles in recent years, that the germ which causes cholera has been discovered. We can, so to speak, put our fingers upon it and locate it. We know all about it and we know that it causes cholera, and yet a few years ago Professor Pettenkoffer, of Munich, who was skeptical at that time as to this causal relation, ventured to swallow several million or more of cholera germs and was unaffected. Now this is explained by an expression which simply confesses our ignorance, namely, by saying that his personal resistance to the invasion of these germs was so great that they were unable to affect him. But in what does this resistance consist? What enables one individual to resist the invasion of the cholera germ or the tubercle germ or the typhoid bacillus of which we have all drunk scores, I am sure, while another individual succumbs? That is one of the problems which is pressing for solution. A few years ago diphtheria was one of the terrible scourges. It is bad enough, indeed, to-day but the world was startled not long since by the discovery of the diphtheria antitoxin, and it is a perfectly safe statement that the use of this wonderful agent has cut the mortality from diphtheria in half. Why should there not be an antitoxin for typhoid fever, for pneumonia, for consumption, for cholera, for the other diseases which are known to be of germ origin? I simply indicate in this way the innumerable problems which are pressing for solution and which offer a most inviting field for the man of a scientific turn of mind. If he be not inclined to investigate; if he has not that special capacity, but has more capacity for bringing together the researches of others and deducing great principles and truths from the facts that have been observed by others, a great field awaits him. Medical literature teems with isolated observations from which we have yet derived no great utility, because they have not been brought together and deductions made from them.

In his daily life the doctor comes in contact with more people and in closer contact than any other man, not even excepting the

clergyman. He is in larger demand than any other professional man. As Mr. Evarts has well said, "few men have property, it may be well doubted if some have souls, but all have bodies." Every man with a body is pretty sure at some time in his life to need the services of a physician. Again the physician comes into close contact with, and his advice is constantly sought by other professional men, all of whom need his advice at one time or another. The sociologist who is studying the social problems of to-day needs perhaps more the advice of the physician than that of any other man in the community because it is certain that those conditions which affect the health of the poorer classes have more to do with their social condition, their social debasement than any other conditions which surround them. He comes into intimate relation with the pastor, with the teacher, and with the lawyer in the courts. He comes more closely in relation with his patients than does any other individual, a "heart to heart" relation. As Bayard has said, "He is surrounded by an atmosphere of love and trust and holds, as it were, the heartstrings of the family in his hands." And finally his relations to his fellows, it seems to me as I have observed them, are more intimate, more close, and more delightful than those in any other profession that I have knowledge of. As Weir Mitchell has said, "the medical profession is a guild, a world-wide guild, and the only one." To the young man, therefore, who is ambitious for a career which will gratify a high ideal of success, which will bring him contentment and the satisfaction of good work well done, I know of no profession which offers a more inviting field than medicine to-day. If he is ambitious to be a money-maker, he can make no greater mistake than to be a doctor.

So much for the personal outlook. I should like to say just a word or two with regard to the outlook for the profession generally, because the outlook for any individual member is indissolubly bound up in the outlook of the profession as a whole. Is there anything significant in the present condition of the medical profession as to the future relation of the medical man to the community? I think there is, and especially in two points on which I desire to say a word. And first as to the vastly improved conditions in the matter of medical education. It is a safe statement, I think, that in no department of human learning has the progress been so remarkable nor so great, in the last twenty years, as it has in medical education. Twenty years ago the average medical college accepted a student with a grammar school education and did not make a very close inquiry into that. He received his degree after an attendance of two sessions of five months each. The course was not graded. He had no practical work. During those times he sat on benches from six to eight hours a day and heard what somebody else had to say about it. To-day no

reputable school receives a student with less than a high school education and one institution requires the bachelor's degree with certain special qualifications—a good knowledge of the branches of science fundamental to medicine and a reading knowledge of at least two modern languages. It requires in addition to that four years of nine months each of graded instruction, which is very largely of a practical character. Now to my mind this means very much in the matter of the future relations of the medical man to the community, because, as I said before, the social standing and influence which the physician wields in a community is dependent not on the fact that he is a physician, but upon his personal attainments. If we are to have, as we must have in the near future, a body of medical men with that sort of training, the standing of the medical profession will be vastly higher than it has been heretofore; the influence wielded by the medical profession will be vastly greater than it is to-day. I think within the near future several of the better medical schools will require for admission to the medical college the equivalent of the end of the sophomore year of most colleges—the junior college diploma, as it is styled at the University. This is a fair equivalent of the German Gymnasium diploma which is required for admission for any professional training in Germany. The other significant fact is a change which I think presages a change in the relationship between the doctor in the community. I refer to preventive medicine. Almost every layman to-day is familiar with the fact that our knowledge of the causes of disease has grown marvellously within the last twenty-five years. We know to-day the micro-organic causes of a considerable number of diseases. Of consumption, for example, of cholera, of typhoid fever and diphtheria, of pneumonia and of lock-jaw, and we know a great deal about these organisms; we can see them, experiment with them, produce diseases in animals with them, and yet this great growth and knowledge of the etiology of diseases has been followed by a most disappointingly small increase in our knowledge of how to cure disease. Our curative measures have improved very little in the last twenty years. Our methods, for example, of treating consumption do not differ essentially from what they did twenty years ago. We are not able to destroy or even to inhibit these germs after they have entered the body, but if we could destroy them before they enter—and it is perfectly possible to do so—these diseases might be wiped from the earth. How to do it is well understood, but it requires a thorough knowledge on the part of every one in the community and the thorough co-operation of all concerned. This is what is styled preventive medicine. Of course preventive medicine to be most effective must be community prevention, the prevention of disease as related to the municipality or State. But much can be done in the way of family prevention. Many diseases are transmitted

and fostered by bad conditions in the family and household. Individual prevention can do much, and I believe in the near future physicians will be employed not to cure diseases but to prevent them, and the doctor will be paid a certain sum to take care of the health of his clients and to see that they do not get disease; that they are kept free from many things which could be avoided if they were properly instructed.

One question has been suggested to me by the remarks of the previous speaker. Shall the coming physician specialize? Yes, I should say, and no. He should not choose a specialty, the specialty should choose him. I think one of the greatest mistakes that is being made to-day, at least in the medical profession, is for young men to enter upon the practice of a specialty without any broad fundamental training in the general principles of medicine, a knowledge that cannot be acquired in the medical school alone, but only in general practice. Is it not a matter of common observation among lawyers that many of the most successful men in the legal profession are men who have come from country towns, who have had for some years a country practice where they had to do with all sorts of law? I am sure that this is commonly true among physicians. So while it is perfectly proper and inevitable that the greatest success should be obtained through specializing, the successful specialist must build upon a broad, thorough foundation of the general principles of medicine in all departments, because it certainly is true in the case of the body—no particular part of the body is divorced from the rest. No particular part of the body can be diseased without affecting the other parts or being intimately related to—indeed, often caused by—disturbances elsewhere. The physician who has not this broad knowledge of disease throughout the whole system is sure to be lead astray by his acuter knowledge of one particular part. There is no question but what there is a decided tendency toward specialism which has been growing, although I think there is somewhat of a reaction against it. I was amused by a remark of the late Doctor Murphy, a bluff old doctor of the pioneer type, who on an occasion similar to this, was contrasting the condition of the practice in his student days, forty years ago, and the conditions now. Among other things he referred to the extreme specialisms in medicine. "Why," he said, "they have cut us general doctors down so there ain't much left. We have doctors for the nose, and the eyes and the chest; doctors for the pelvis, the kidneys and the feet, and about all we general doctors have got left is a little part around the naval here. I was down in Washington last summer at a meeting down there and I met a fellow on the street who had a button on and I said to him, 'What are you?' He replied, 'Why, I am a naval surgeon.' I said, 'Well, the last part of the body that was left to me has gone.' I found out the next day he was a surgeon on a ship, but it gave me a great shock."

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker represents a profession supposedly endowed with prophetic insight and wisdom. The Sunset Club will present him an interesting study if he is seeking candidates for the ministry. Rev. W. W. Fenn, of the First Unitarian Society, will address the Club.

REV. W. W. FENN: Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the Sunset Club, I am very grateful to the Chairman for introducing me so pleasantly, for considering his opening remarks and the theological position which he holds, I have been reconciling myself (as a Unitarian) to the probability that I should be presented as a very "misfit" clergyman. There was some relief, however, in the entirely accurate and quite unconscious self-correction by Dr. Dodson a moment ago. He began to say, you remember, that a physician had much to do with the preacher, and then corrected himself and said with the pastor. My own observation has been that physicians have very little to do with preachers as preachers, and it was a slight comfort to reflect that no one, I think, in this room is likely to be affected as to his eternal welfare by the teachings of one "misfit" clergyman.

We hear it said very frequently nowadays that there is a surplus of ministers. The statement is made on all sides. The various denominational periodicals which come to me abound in complaints. It is undoubtedly true that there are many clergymen standing idle in the market place because no man, no church; has hired them. In many cases, however, that is of the Lord's exceeding mercy to the parishes; but, on the other hand, I notice in my own denomination, and elsewhere so far as my observation goes, that whenever an influential pulpit becomes vacant there is always great difficulty in filling it. This brings one to the conclusion that at the present time while there may be a surplus of mediocre ministers there is a deficiency of strong men in the clerical profession. Of course it is very easy to say that the same condition obtains in every other profession, and indeed, in life, universally; yet it is probably true that in present conditions mediocre men are attracted to the profession of clergyman by the same causes which repel strong men. It is perfectly evident that the old parochial type is passing away. The sort of minister whom Chaucer describes, or Goldsmith, has almost entirely disappeared. Visitors to the Isles of Shoals will remember that on one of the Islands there is a tombstone telling the passer-by that beneath lies the body of a man, whose name I have forgotten, a clergyman, a graduate of Harvard in the class of 1723, who was ordained at the Isle of Shoals in 1732, and for forty-one years, till the end of his life, served the fisher folk on the Islands. Here was a man of the ripest culture of his time, a Harvard graduate, who for forty-one years dedicated himself to life on that lonely wind-swept

island as "guide, philosopher and friend" to all its inhabitants. That is the traditional type of the New England country pastor. A man entered the service of his Church, and remained with it till his death. Such ministers, however, exist now only in literature and fondly cherished traditions. There are many reasons for this; the greater facility of transportation and the consequent growth of large cities have been influential. There has also been an increasing mobility of family life which militates against the family church. The family does not have a life-long settlement in any one place, and therefore the old time relations between the minister and his people cannot grow up. And there has been also the wide diffusion of knowledge. Every clergyman, whether he be in city or in the country, may count upon having in his congregation some men and women who know at least where the problems lie in theology, and he is obliged to meet their criticism. Moreover, there has arisen also what may be called a competition among the churches both in the cities and in the country, which is decidedly against this old-fashioned type. In the old time in New England there was one church, it was the town church; but with the introduction of the perfectly voluntary system there came in churches of various denominations, and then the struggle began among all these churches, not so much to serve the community as to receive the support of the community. And so the demand has arisen for a minister who will draw, even though the ultimate result of his drawing may be a blister. Consequently one of the first feelings which a great many strong young men have as they face the question of their work is that the ministry is impossible for them, simply because its requirements are so many and so various. Consider for one moment what the modern clergyman is expected to be. First of all, he ought to be—for the tradition still lingers, and may it never die—first of all he ought to be a scholar. Within twenty-five years the whole science of theology has been revolutionized by two causes: First, by the introduction of the science of biblical criticism, and the man who is not familiar with the methods and with the results of biblical criticism has no place in a modern pulpit; secondly, by the discovery of the principle of evolution which has wholly changed the point of view from which men are considering the problems of life, and manifestly one who is to guide the thinking of a congregation in religion, must lead along the lines of its thinking on other topics. The clergyman must be a scholar, but besides being a scholar he must also have the gift of public speech and be able to put the results of his scholarship in popular form. Again, he must be a man of affairs, because in the complicated conditions of modern life the minister is called upon to do a great many things which the clergymen of seventy-five or one hundred years ago knew nothing and cared nothing about. Into the vastly enlarged

realm of philanthropy he must enter as a matter of course, familiar with economic laws and sociological theories, as well as with the conclusions and tendencies of practical experts. Finally, besides being scholar, speaker, and man of affairs, he is expected also to be a man of easy manners to meet the social requirements of his position. Now consider those four qualifications and see how incongruous they are; how very rarely those four qualities are found united in one individual. If a man be a scholar he is unlikely to have the gift of popular presentation; you very rarely find a scholar who is a man of affairs; you very seldom find a scholar who mingles much in society. He must give himself to his study, if he would be worthy the honored name of a scholar. And yet the clergyman of to-day ought to have, in the present condition of religious work, those four incongruous qualifications. He is expected to be, if you please, a general department store of all arts and virtues and graces. You say, "Why, even Paul himself could not meet such a demand." Assuredly not, for in one of his letters he tells us that his bodily presence was reputed weak and his speech contemptible, and that would put him instantly out of consideration. I mention these requirements, however, merely to make my point clear, that a young man looking at the work of the ministry, seeing the many and the various demands which are made upon a clergyman, shrinks back from the undertaking. He is abashed by the greatness of the demand which is sure to be made upon him, and a man of sense will think a long time and be governed at last only by an overmastering conviction that here lies his work before he turns to the profession of the ministry.

A second reason why many of the stronger young men are repelled from the profession of the ministry is the estimation in which the minister is held by the community. He feels it immediately upon entering the Divinity school, especially if it be connected with a large university. From the "Theologs" of Harvard down to the "Bibs" of the Northwestern University there is a graded scale of opprobrious epithets reserved for the divinity students. It is well known that the attendants upon the divinity school in connection with any university are looked at askance by other students. There was an old lady living near Andover Theological Seminary who said she had lost all her respect for ministers since she had seen them in the making, and a gentleman who lives near the Chicago University says somewhat irreverently that a similar feeling comes over him occasionally as he studies some of the religious articles in "Harper's Bazaar." But when the clergyman gets into his work he finds himself treated often with an easy, amiable tolerance which approaches insult. A man despises factitious consideration; he wishes to stand on his own feet, and make his way by his own merit. He would win by his own effort and the gentle flavor of mild patronage and amused

consideration of which a minister speedily becomes conscious in the community serves to debar many a strong young man from the profession.

There is still a third reason about which you must permit me to speak for a moment, and that is indicated by the fact that there is only one denomination in Christendom which does not exact from its ministers either by the denomination or by the individual church some actual or implied pledge of belief, some declaration of creed. A young man stands before that condition and asks himself this question: "How can I be sure that forty years hence I shall believe as I believe to-day?" It may be that the creed represents for him at the moment truth, but he says, "How can I be sure that it will seem to me true twenty or thirty years from now?" and he hesitates, hesitates very properly, and then as he looks about him in the religious world to-day, which is in a serious process of transition, his hesitation hardens into refusal. We in Chicago are indignant, righteously indignant, because explicit written pledges have been violated by certain members of our Common Council. I said to one of my friends the other night, "The politicians are getting nearly as bad as the theologians," because as a simple matter of fact just that sort of thing is going on throughout the religious world to-day. This morning's paper contained a statement by one of the most conservative and prominent ministers of one of the most important denominations in this country to the effect that he supposed hardly one minister of his denomination believed the creed to which he was committed. Now one does not wish to speak harshly. One appreciates very keenly the dilemma in which these men are placed. We have deep sympathy with them, and certainly railing accusation is unkind and unjust. Nevertheless, a young man of sensitive conscience, of high principle, looks at that condition of things in the religious world and says: "That is not straight," and he shrinks from the idea of making for himself the excuses which are commonly offered. And so these three reasons, with others which I might mention, are operating nowadays to keep many of the best, most earnest young men out of the clerical profession, and their loss is of deep significance. What is the relief from this situation? By the voluntary system which we have in relation to churches, I suppose there is hardly a denomination which could not be made over inside of twenty years. Responsibility for the future rests very largely with the men of this country; with such men, laymen, as are members of this Club. In the first place, let them take the minister seriously; let them insist that he shall give them no platitudes; that he shall be thoughtful, sincere, absolutely honest in his utterance; let them make the highest demands of scholarship and intelligence and character in the pulpit; then let them set their minister free. I do not mean merely that they shall let out

one or two holes in the halter, but that they shall set him absolutely free, removing all temptation to equivocation, to paltering with words; when congregations demand that their ministers shall think clearly and speak plainly a marvellous unanimity will appear among them. Channing said, "All minds are of one family"; all earnestly thoughtful men are thinking more nearly alike on religious matters than perhaps many of you imagine. In this way there may eventually come about the result which many of us are hoping for—I do not say the breaking down utterly of denominational lines, but only that instead of the present miserable system of competition there shall be co-operation. Why might we not have in our large cities, besides family churches in the residence districts, great cathedral churches, manned by half a dozen men, each of whom shall do the work for which he is especially qualified. One man can preach; let him preach, undisturbed by the business cares of the church. Let him not be required to fritter his life away in multitudinous detail. Let the man who has the gift for the detail use that gift to the utmost. So this board of clergymen, each specialized to his own best, will give most efficient service to the community. Is the vision an impossibility?

The reluctance of our best young men to enter the ministry is of very serious concern to religion which is now passing through one of the greatest crises in its history. The church needs, as perhaps it never needed before, the leadership and the service of the strongest, most thoughtful, most sincere and honorable men. It ought to have the best blood, the best brain of the community, just at this critical period of its transition. Furthermore, the church is here, a potent factor in the life of the community. Whether the teaching from the pulpit shall be abreast with modern thinking, whether it shall instill elevated principles of conduct and rally the deep and abiding realities of the spirit, or degenerate into mere emotionalism and frivolous ceremonialism is to be determined largely by the men of this country, and by such men as are represented here in the Sunset Club.

THE CHAIRMAN: I never play with a buzz saw, and I wish to treat the next speaker with the greatest consideration, for the newspaper man always has the last word. We shall next listen to Mr. Truman A. De Weese, of the editorial staff of the Times-Herald.

MR. TRUMAN A. DE WEESE: I am deeply sensible of the compliment implied by the Secretary of your Club in classing journalism as a profession. In former times the only learned professions were the law, medicine and theology, but now almost any form of employment that does not consist entirely of manual labor has crept in under the classification of a profession. Even dentistry, which

consists largely in making cavities where none existed and hammering them full of amalgam, creating large cavities in your pocket book, is denominated a profession. But there is no reason why the man with the hammer should not be called a professional man whether he stands over your aching tooth or sits in an editorial chair.

It is commonly understood in newspaper offices that only the fellows from the colleges are journalists, while the men who have started as printers' devils, who have learned to stick type, and have climbed the ladder from the bottom to the top through reportorial, to editorial and managerial positions, are content to be known merely as newspaper men.

I am asked to speak upon the outlook for the profession of journalism. In my opinion the outlook for the journalist is full of promise—not the promise of the politician, for, thank Heaven! most self-respecting journalists have quit asking for political jobs. It is true that the country editor still hungers for post-offices, but these are regarded as the legitimate perquisites of rural journalism. The habit of giving country post-offices to editors doubtless grew out of conditions that prevailed in the early days of the Republic when the only man in the town who could read all kinds of writing was the local journalist. The country editor can truly claim that he is a man of letters.

But the profession of journalism to-day stands upon its own bottom. It is asking no favors of politicians and does not depend for its sustenance upon party spoils. It stands with its head erect, conscious of its commanding position among the activities of men and the diversified forms of intellectual endeavor. It is true that when we look in certain directions the outlook has a decidedly yellow hue, but I have never been one of those who take a bilious view of their own profession. I am an editorial rainbow-chaser. The editorial pessimist is welcome to all he can find in his cave of gloom. The Poet Stedman said: "It is an age of journalism." This is truer to-day than ever before. As civilization progresses and humanity becomes enlightened, the field of the journalist grows larger and more inviting, while that of the lawyer, the doctor and the preacher grows smaller and more precarious. As man ascends the ladder of intellectual attainment and learns better the laws of life, he will want fewer pills, less litigation and shorter sermons. The lawyer already sees the fat fees slipping away from him. He finds it more difficult each year to coax men into court. There is an increasing tendency on the part of the plain people to keep out of the thorny and tangled pathway that leads to the courts. Men are even making their wills by talking into a phonograph. What chance is there for an honest, industrious lawyer to break a last will and testament that is preserved in the living voice of the deceased? The shrewdest lawyer cannot go behind

a voice that comes surging through a big brass funnel straight from the tomb and which is easily recognized by the relatives and friends of the departed one. The tendency of all mercantile and industrial activities toward combination and centralization is another danger that brings lawyers face to face with the dire necessity of being compelled to work for a living. One lawyer can now attend to the legal business for fifty establishments, each one of which, before the era of combinations, employed its own legal counsel.

The advent of the new woman in mercantile and industrial positions, driving out men and making it impossible for them to get married and rear families, also threatens the divorce business, one of the most profitable sources of revenue for the legal profession. When the incompatibles that now mar the face of society are all divorced the revenue from this direction will be cut off, for it is a certain proposition that if women continue to crowd men out of the various industrial employments, marriages will cease and Hymen will go out of business. If there are no marriages, there can be no suits for divorce.

The field of the doctor is also seriously menaced. There are more doctors now in Chicago than patients. With the spread of sanitary science and the increasing tendency to observe the laws of hygiene, people are growing alarmingly healthy. Moreover, the cult that believes in curing by the laying on of hands is growing amazingly industrious and is winning converts by the thousands, while a new school which simply lays its hands on your pocket-book and declares there is nothing the matter with you is also flourishing over the land. When a believer in this school gets the belly-ache, he rings up his "doctor" and informs him by telephone of the distress in the abdominal region. He is promptly informed that the belly-ache is all in his mind and the sufferer is relieved. How can the noble profession of medicine, which has been drugging humanity since the days of Aesculapius, stand against such hocus-pocus as this? I still believe a fairly good living can be picked up in certain localities by physicians of the Homeopathic school, but the man who really desires to practice medicine is going to have a hard time of it unless present tendencies are checked, for it is idle to deny that the drift is away from calomel and ipecac.

The preacher is also losing his grip. Popular faith in religion is just as strong as it ever was, but people are becoming impressed with the notion that one does not have to rent a pew to be good.

Nothing is more certain in these degenerate days than that the press is crowding the pulpit hard. I do not refer to this as a hopeful sign, for I believe in the pulpit. Certainly no man should be satisfied to nourish his spiritual nature from the columns of a Sunday newspaper.

Man will grow tired of pills and litigation and sermons, but his appetite for reading will grow stronger and more unappeasable as human interests and activities are multiplied. His curiosity to know what is going on in the world about him and his desire to pry into the affairs of his neighbors, to laugh at the foibles of society and to see bad politicians pounded under the editorial trip-hammer, will be sharpened and never satisfied. He will live more and more in his daily newspaper. Thus the field of the journalist is broadening, his opportunities are multiplying, and his material is growing richer, while the field for those professions that prey upon the frailties of humanity is growing more circumscribed. It is needless for me to elaborate on this occasion the higher rewards of journalism in those compensations that come from the power to exalt virtue, to uncover hypocrisy, to expose crime, to redress wrong, to promote justice and to encourage high thinking. The question that concerns the educated young man of to-day is: "Does journalism offer adequate opportunity for earning a livelihood or a competency?" In answering this question it must never be forgotten that journalism, unlike the law, medicine and dentistry, is a salaried profession. The lawyer, the doctor and the dentist hang out their shingles and the yearly income of each is governed solely by the size of his clientele and his ability to collect his bills. Sometimes the man with the most meager equipment and knowledge gets rich in a few years, while the man of widest learning ekes out a poor existence. This is because one understands human nature better than the other. The only kind of a newspaper man that can be classed with these is the owner and publisher of a paper, but he is very rarely a trained writer. The writing journalist works for a fixed salary. It must also be borne in mind in making comparisons with other professions that the profession of journalism differs from law, medicine and theology, in that it does not require a collegiate or university training to practice it. A journalist does not have to matriculate at any college as a doctor of journalism before the State will permit him to practice it. In most States no man can practice law, medicine, dentistry or pharmacy without a permit from the State, which is issued only upon a diploma or other documentary proof that the applicant has received the requisite technical training at some institution maintained for that purpose. Up in Minnesota every barber is required by State law to pass an examination before a State board of examiners before he is permitted to practice the tonsorial trade. His certificate, issued by the State board, must be conspicuously displayed in his shop. But the State imposes no scholastic conditions upon the man who slashes the face of humanity with the editorial razor or clips the whiskers from over-ripe jokes with the journalistic shears. He can put his hand on the public pulse and administer

a dose of salts to the body politic whenever he thinks it needs purging. He can lay down the law to the judge and the jury and he doesn't have to go to a law school to do it. He may not know what the law is, but he knows what it ought to be and he is therefore perfectly capable of instructing the jury. This monitor of political ethics, this regulator of public morals and moulder of public opinion is not compelled by the State to furnish evidences of technical training or special fitness for his work. But while the State imposes no scholastic conditions upon the practice of journalism, it is plainly apparent that a profession that requires such broad equipment and covers the whole range of human knowledge must put a premium on educated writers. The college man is therefore becoming more and more in evidence on the staffs of the larger newspapers.

If we compare journalism with other salaried vocations it will have to be conceded that it stands near the top of the list. Certainly no man expects to get rich out of a salary in any vocation. No sane man enters journalism expecting to amass a competency. While the pursuit of journalism tends to create expensive habits, it cannot be denied that the salaries paid to editors, editorial writers, special writers and reporters in the larger cities are better than those paid in most salaried employments. Considering the exacting, nerve-destroying character of the work, however, these salaries can never be adequate. The only feature of modern journalism that is calculated to repel educated, ambitious young men, is the tendency towards impersonalism. The writer is expected to obscure his personality. Individuality is discouraged and suppressed. The public is not permitted to identify newspaper utterances with any personality, and yet the public is perfectly familiar with the fact that one person does not write the paper. This policy tends to produce colorless newspapers. It also tends to destroy individuality of style in writing and its legitimate fruit is irresponsible journalism. It is for this reason that the most talented journalists turn their attention to magazine work and to the writing of books and plays. Books and plays offer a most profitable and attractive field of opportunity for newspaper men and the brilliant successes already attained in this line by journalists are striking proofs that the guild does not need to hopelessly submerge itself in the daily reportorial and editorial grind.

The outlook for journalism grows brighter every year for the reason that the army of readers grows constantly larger, because the appetite for knowledge of all departments of human activity grows keener, and because the newspaper is gradually usurping the functions of all other institutions for the dissemination of popular instruction.

THE CHAIRMAN: The subject is now open for general discussion.

DR. ARCHIBALD CHURCH: It appears to me that the outlook for the professional man depends very largely upon the outlook for his profession. I have in mind the outlook for the medical profession. It would seem almost axiomatic that a human institution would have a future corresponding to its antiquity. Long before sun worship had produced a race of priests, long before a legal writ became the equivalent of a club; long before surgery emerged from the barber shop, where the streak of red in the pole still indicates that origin; in the earliest social gatherings of the human race I make no doubt there was some one who knew more about burns and cuts and warts than the rest, and was, so to speak, the physician. Later on, as I need not recall to an audience of this character, in Persian medical history, and in the medical history of the Greeks, where a sane and rational system of medicine grew up, medicine and religion were closely united. The priest of the body was often the priest of the soul. The mystery of the human body is somewhat analogous to the mystery of matters celestial, so that very naturally these two functions fell into the same hands. I think this an important consideration, because those physicians who have a tendency to play upon the credulity of people run off along the shunt line into quackery and charlatanism, while those who are devoted to their profession and its best interests become philanthropists.

I take it for granted that you all know the great majority of medical men are philanthropists. The remarks of Dr. Dodson in regard to their incomes would prove this, if proof were needed.

One of my medical acquaintances had an experience which brought it home to him. An elderly practitioner who did not know all about modern specialties asked this young man if he would see a patient of his, and said, "They are not very well to do, so you need not expect a very large fee." He went and saw the patient and after he got through intimated that he would not charge them very much, but that they could pay something, which seemed to surprise them, and an embarrassing situation arose. "Well," he said, "don't you pay your doctor?" They said, "Pay our doctor? Why, do you see that firewood? The doctor sent us that firewood. Do you see that bread? He sent us the flour out of which we made the bread. And those medicine bottles there? He paid for the medicine." "Well," this young man said to me, "do you know how I felt?" I said, "No, I am not capable of entering into your subjective life." "Well," he said, "I felt like a dirty deuce in a new deck." He

came into contact with the philanthropic side of the profession then and there, and will be a philanthropist as long as he lives.

To this religious element which is part of the medical profession I again revert because sometimes we have epidemics of a decadent, reversionary atavistic tendency in large portions of the population, leading them to the belief that all medicine must be spiritual. It is to me a matter not only interesting, but highly instructive to see one of the modern women of high mental development and physical accomplishment, who blinds herself with verbose tergiversations regarding astral bodies and the essence of mind, deny to her child the beneficent, wholesome belief in the Kris Kringles.

Knowing the history of medicine, and knowing the origin of this epidemic toward mysticism, toward a self-sufficient priesthood of self-seeking or self-blinded egotism, we know why it is that at times there is a large element of the population reverting to the religious side, and denying the actuality of matter and the benefits of therapeutics. Lincoln said that you could not fool all the people all of the time. I have always been curious to know how large a proportion of people he thought could be fooled all the time. He said some. I think it must be a very large proportion. The allurements of the unknown foster humbuggery, and one needs only to turn to the edifying pages of journalism as represented not only by the yellow backs, but in our highest and most popular and most respected and most domestic sheets, to see that humbuggery is a large element—at least in the advertising pages. I grieve to see under the heading "Medical" in our most respected papers a half column devoted to the abortionists who announce their abilities in the correction of irregularities of the female sex, and guarantee full success without operation.

We are sometimes told that medicine has no future. Down in Kenwood, one or two narrow-minded practitioners, not familiar with the history of the human race and not careful students of human nature, have gone so far as to tell me that the practice of medicine is going to the demnition bow-wows, because even the women are having their babies without the intervention of the obstetrician. Another man I met took another view. He said: "I have seven cases of scarlet fever. This is seven out of a group of eighteen which have radiated from one case, occurring in a Scientist child that attended school, and all these eighteen cases sat about this one case." He says: "If Christian Science maintains its popularity, I am going to do a big business."

I believe that there is a future for medicine. I believe that the profession of medicine is going to furnish opportunity and activity as long as the human race shall last and I believe that when the last trumpet shall sound and the harvest of death shall have num-

bered its last sickleful that only then may the physician, whose vocation is the creature of the woes of man, release the pallid and clinging hand of suffering, and soften his face toward his foe.

MR. WALLACE RICE: I am one of the newspaper men not particularly optimistic regarding the future of the newspaper man in Chicago. Chicago, leading the country in other respects, has proceeded further along present evolutionary lines in the matter of the newspaper business than any of the American cities. It is the only American city where the newspaper has fallen absolutely in the hands of a trust.

This trust was organized some years ago for perfectly legitimate purposes. At its first meeting it passed a resolution affecting the salary of newspaper men. It has gone on from time to time until the men in the Chicago newspaper business to-day who are earning \$25 a week are fewer than those who were earning \$40 a week ten years ago. This is due to a number of other causes. The leading one is that, by a curious paradox, the larger the city the less the need for local news. In the older day "Jushua Bliffins called at our sanctum this morning and left a large red apple. Call again, Josh," represented real journalistic ability. To-day we are interested less and less in the doings of our neighbors.

And we are interested less and less because there is less told about our neighbors. The newspaper owner discovered some time ago that almost anything was cheaper than furnishing local news. It requires men who know the city, first of all, men who have been here a long time and men who know the different men and streets and all about it. Their number is exceedingly limited. The supply being limited, wages would have to be large. It was found much cheaper to pass from those days, when the profit of the paper was gotten from the sale of the paper—when the man who wrote a clever story was known to his publishers, because that clever story sold more papers and made more money for the publisher. It was found easier to turn the papers over to business men who rather than sell the paper by news would resort to various childish devices, puzzles, chromos, educational departments, various things not in the least in the function of journalism, whereby they might cajole a public deprived of its news into purchasing papers.

In the language of the historian Lecky in respect of the Boer war, the trail of finance is over the Chicago papers. It is cheaper now to get advertisements by business means and to sell the paper at cost, and, that being so, there is little desire on the part of the greater journals of Chicago to extend their circulation to any great extent.

The young man comes out of college with the intention of embracing what he calls "journalism," what we call, as Mr. DeWeese

has told you, "the newspaper business." He goes into it for three reasons. The chief one is that he knows nothing whatever about what it is that he is going to do. The second is that it promises an immediate return in money—he can in that business alone of all the businesses on which he may embark, after leaving college, earn his living immediately; and he earns his living by taking a very small wage at the outset—this has had and still has a very strong tendency to check any possible increase in wages. The third reason is the eminent satisfaction which all newspaper writers experience in seeing what they have written in type. Most of us, after our first infancy in which we read all that is written in the newspaper, limit ourselves only to that which we have written ourselves.

There is no possible social advantage in the newspaper business. The newspaper man knows no one. The story of the little girl who ran crying to her mother to tell that "The man with whiskers who sleeps here day-times, whipped me" was told of the newspaper man. The immediate financial return which a young man gets through journalism bears out the rule in physics that a gain in time is a loss in power. He gets it then, but he never gets it later.

Further, there is no possible opportunity for a man to stay in a newspaper business after he has exhausted what is very happily called his nimbleness, unless, like one or two of the more fortunate ones, he gets caught in an eddy somewhere—like a friend of mine to whom they came and said, "Why, you are still working," and he said, "Yes, but the paper doesn't know I am working."

The social advantages are nothing, but the promise, as has been said so very well by Mr. DeWeese, of getting out of the newspaper business by something happening to you which is worth while, is very great. Here in Chicago to an extent known nowhere else in this country the newspaper business has furnished names in literature. Mr. Benj. F. Taylor, Mr. Francis F. Brown are known to an older generation. Among those still in Chicago and still writing, much to the credit of the city, are Mrs. Elia W. Peattie, Mr. Will Payne, Mr. Stanley Waterloo, Mr. Opie Reade, Mr. Earnest Megaffey, Mr. Frank Putnam, a long list of names of which that is hardly half, all of whom have already secured the attention of people on both sides of the Atlantic for their clever literary work. Mr. Finley Peter Dunne, "Philosopher Dooley," has a reputation which extends wherever the English language is spoken. Mr. George Ade has a reputation of the same sort, which is very rapidly growing and will eventually be as great as Mr. Dunne's. Their work merits attention.

If the young man about to choose an occupation in life ever intends marrying he should not go into the newspaper business. If he intends passing a few years of his life in learning what no university teaches, the art of saying the best he can say at once, facility in writing,

the ability to say a great deal in a short time, and the ability to write a great deal without saying anything, this experience can be had in the newspaper business as perhaps in no other way.

The distinction, therefore, is the old distinction between those who would be and those who would get. The newspaper man, while he is in power, exercises a very real power. He is to a large extent the conscience of the people and it is remarkable that while men's own consciences play them many tricks, the newspaper to whom they turn over their consciences, especially in political matters, have lately been playing them even stranger tricks. It would be curious to know how many of its readers follow when a newspaper comes out flatly on one side one day and without any premonition of change comes out flatly on the other side the next day, and how far it is to be trusted as a guide. Yet the undeniable fact is that the papers are precisely worthy of the people who read them, and that they would not make those somersaults if they were not confident they could carry the bodies of their readers with them.

A paper depends to an extent that those outside the newspaper business do not know on what it can learn of the feeling of the public. A few well written letters from different parts of the city will change the editorial policy of almost any paper in all but fundamental matters and will often change their policy on the more essential matters. I have known, for example, one of the great papers of Chicago to stand, halting like Buridan's ass, all during the early part of the Anglo-African War, because it could not find out what the American people thought about the Anglo-African War. It was afraid to say it was in favor of the Boers because the Englishman, bringing from abroad the habit of writing to the daily papers, had written in expostulation whenever the paper appeared to favor the burghers' side. As a consequence the English influence had lured this paper from what was its plain duty—the term is perhaps unfortunate in lieu of after-events—into something quite different.

The newspapers are for the most part a fetish. You know that the Indians, who withstood the bullets of our New England ancestors, ran in terror when they found out that the gunwads were of printed paper. The same fetish prevails to-day. A newspaper man exerts an influence as absolutely disproportionate to the source from which it emanates as can be imagined. It is one of the most curious questions in casuistry—an editorial staff selected solely on account of its ability to write—what it is that happens to a man who has turned his conscience over to the keeping of another man who writes nothing that he himself believes? It is true, not of all the Chicago papers, but of at least half the men who write their editorials, who do the thinking for the community, that they write what they do write for hire in the firm conviction that everything they say is absolutely false. It was

one of the facts during the campaign four years ago and it will doubtless be one of the facts during the present campaign. I know one of the papers here, a very great paper, where every man on the editorial staff believes the publisher of the paper is absolutely wrong in everything he says him to say.

REV. M. S. TERRY: I think, Mr. Chairman, it would be a very good thing in this goodly crowd of Sunset Clubbers, and with all this representation from the different learned professions, to have a word from at least one professor of religion! The gentlemen who have spoken seem to me to have said in substance those things that we must all agree to. I cannot find any spot in the discourses we have listened to on which to make any special antagonism, but, speaking for clergymen, I think I may add a few thoughts. There are many religionists among us who would dispute the propriety of calling the clerical vocation by that word "profession." They use the word "calling," "vocation," or something of that kind, and insist that the true minister of the Gospel is not a man who has prepared himself for a profession, but has had a divine call which he could not resist; and without any consideration of such motives, as social position, or salary, or any consideration whatever of a worldly kind, he has been irresistibly drawn into that work, and a woe is upon him if he does not go forward and perform the work of his ministry. If we take that lofty conception of the work of a Christian pastor or minister, and discard the words priest and clergyman, we shall obtain the true idea. I suppose this might be said to some extent of every one of the so-called learned professions, and of all works that are noble and elevating to humanity. The ideal man is he who says in his inmost heart, "I have a genius, I have a call, I have on my soul an irresistible conviction that I am fitted for a given work and I must follow it whether it pays or not."

He loves that work, and if there come no remuneration the service in that particular field would be its own reward. Such an one is the ideal man, wherever you put him—lawyer, doctor, representative of the press—any work, business or profession that will elevate humanity, or answer any real human need. But as for a minister of the Gospel who thinks one thing and tells another, we may say in the manner of old Homer somewhere,

"Who dares think one thing, and another tell,
My soul detests him, as the gates of Hell."

Any man who is not himself true, cannot impress others with the thought that he is a true man or that he is governed by the deepest and holiest motive. He is not a man who is going to amount to much, especially in the clerical line. The mass of people want an

honest man; they want a man who comes, when he has to preach, with a sort of conviction, "I have a message from God; I have a great truth to teach." We are bound to look upon all of the great religions by what is best in them. You can take Christianity, Buddhism, Brahminism, any of the great religions, and you will find in them all some miserable superstitions. For errors have crept in. That religion in which you can find most that is noble and uplifting must have the greatest future, and the minister of that religion has the grander field. But the minister of the future, the preacher of the future, the pastor of the future, will be a man who has a divine call and is not actuated or governed by such considerations as "This great pulpit," and "How much of an orator can I be?" and "How much of a crowd can I gather around me?" Of course there will be room for some such persons, and the demand will no doubt bring the supply.

Religion has so many associations that we shall have all sorts of churches and all sorts of ministers. But the ideal minister, I repeat, in any great work of humanity will be that one who from the beginning to the end works in accord with a divine conviction that he cannot resist and cannot set aside. To sum it all up, I think we should agree that the true minister has this great message: There are two great commandments, first "Thou shalt love thy God with all thy heart;" that is the first and greatest; and second, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets." That is the sum and substance of religion, and the minister of the truth who makes that prominent, and leaves other smaller matters to take care of themselves, will have a great future.

Adjourned.

JOSEPH W. HINER,
Secretary.

ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTH MEETING

OCTOBER 18, 1900

ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHT PRESENT

SUBJECT:

What is the Paramount Issue in the National Campaign?

CHAIRMAN: MR. CHARLES F. HARDING

ADDRESSES BY

MR. FRED A. BANGS

MR. EDWARD OSGOOD BROWN

MR. M. H. BANIGAN

MR. JOHN H. HILL

MR. A. M. SIMON

GENERAL DISCUSSION BY

MR. NORMAN P. WILLARD

MR. A. H. HEYMAN

MR. HERMAN KUEHN

MR. ALEXANDER J. JONES

MR. E. A. MUNGER



ONE HUNDRED AND FOURTH MEETING.

Held at the Palmer House, Thursday, October 18, 1900.

One hundred and eight present.

What Is the Paramount Issue in the National Campaign?

THE SECRETARY: With this meeting we begin a new season. I hope that it may prove as pleasant and profitable to you as its forerunners have been. We should probably have prolonged our vacation until after election had it not been for the fact that a very strong appeal came to us from the outer world for light on a certain doubtful political question. This is the first time we have had a paramount issue in a national campaign, and people are naturally inquisitive about it: They want to know what it is, and where it is from, and where it is going, and how long it is going to stay, and how it likes Chicago.

It devolves on the Sunset Club to catch the paramount issue and probably label it so that everybody will know it when he sees it from this time on.

The gentleman who is to preside this evening is a charter member of the Sunset Club. In addition to that he has the distinction of being President of the Alumni Association of the University of Wisconsin, a very large and influential body which has members in all States of the Union. I observed the other day that a Presbyterian Synod which met in Wisconsin took occasion to criticise the State University for the rowdiness of its students. Mr. Harding is here as a living refutation of that slander. When you observe the grace and dignity with which he presides you will conclude that his university is a center of refine-

ment and culture rather than of rowdyism. If we had such an office as President of this Club I have no doubt Mr. Harding would have filled it long ago, but the nearest approach to it is to be Chairman of one of our meetings, and that dignity he is about to attain. I now take very great pleasure in handing him the gavel.

MR. CHARLES F. HARDING: "Some men are born great, some achieve greatness and some have greatness thrust upon them." Your brilliant Secretary informed me a day or two ago that I was selected to preside over this meeting to-night because I am the only charter member of the Club whose voice has never been heard in any of your deliberations, and who so far has never even seconded a motion. It seems to me a little bit discouraging, after a silence of ten years, to be called upon to occupy a position where silence were still the better part, as it is perhaps in any one presiding at any meeting of this kind.

However, while I may not express any opinion on any of the questions that may be discussed to-night, there is nothing in the world to prevent me from asking all the questions I please. I can not answer any of them. I can not even ask the questions in a way from which the answer might be inferred; but I can ask the questions; and now inasmuch as you may not hear from me for another ten years, I will proceed to ask them. Before I proceed with that I want to say that the Nineteenth Century is going out very much as it came in. The smoke of battle is appearing all over the world and the rattling of drums and the banging of guns are heard everywhere. Wherever you find a strip of heathen country you will find an army of Christendom watching it. It is so in China; it is so in Africa; it is so in the Indies; it is so almost all over the world. The question naturally arises, is this a crusade or is it something worse? That is one of the questions that you may answer for yourselves. If it is not either of these, it is the steadfast march of civilization that had its rise in the valley of the Nile and that took its way around the end of the Mediterranean, through Greece, and Italy, and Hispania, and Gaul, and Germany, and Britain, and so on, and through the United States, and is it now on its way to and through the Orient? Is that what it is? Is it the steadfast march of civilization or is it the rapacity of commercialism, and if it is commercialism, is it anything to be wondered at? Is it or is it not true now as it was in the days when civilization followed the caravans across the desert—is it true now as it was then, that civilization follows the path of commerce? Is it human caprice or is it the following out of an inexorable law? Is it something which there is no use attempting to resist? History is now being written, battalions are in motion over the face of the earth; and not for the first time, but yet in a way to attract the attention of the world, the

splendid American soldier and the beautiful American flag are seen in the Orient. Is this imperialism? Has the idea of imperialism taken possession of the American people, and if so, if you say yes, please define what you mean by imperialism. Some of the speakers perhaps will do that to-night. Whether that should be the paramount issue or whether it should be the value of the dollar, is a question perhaps that will come up. Now, then, as to the dollar, I might ask: Is the dollar too dear or is it too cheap? Does it buy too little or too much? Do we get too few or too many of them? Has the crime of 1873, as it is called sometimes, so enhanced the value of the dollar that it buys too much? Has the agitation which is on hand at this present moment decreased the value of the dollar so that it doesn't buy enough? That will be another subject perhaps that will be discussed here to-night.

Then there is another question which is occupying the minds of a good many people and which will be discussed to-night, no doubt, and that is the question of large combinations of capital sometimes called trusts. Are they a blessing or are they a menace? While it may be a fact that they produce things more cheaply and while they can sell to the consumer more cheaply, while perhaps they can pay better wages, while perhaps they can make a better product, do we or do we not lose something of the independence of American manhood and of manhood in general by having the place of individual effort taken by large corporations? Do these large bodies take the place of individual conscience? Is there a tendency that way at the present time in the American nation? If it is so or if you think it is, is it a proper issue for a national campaign? Is it true or not true that nearly all of these large combinations of capital owe their existence to the laws of some particular State, and that State, one which has been dominated for a long time by either one political party or the other? And, if you say that it is a national issue, and that the National Government must take some sort of measures to curb these trusts, how is it going to do it? How is it going to mix in State affairs, and when you say it is the duty of the National Government to do so, are you or are you not suggesting a form of imperialism worse than any you may hear about to-night with reference to the Philippines? That is a question that may be answered.

Now, in addition to these there are a good many other issues that are deemed paramount by some people and perhaps by a very large number of people. The middle of the road Populists have some sort of an issue which they regard as prominent, perhaps paramount. The Prohibitionists also have an issue which they regard as paramount. I can see how the middle of the road man might be a Prohibitionist, but I can't see how a Prohibitionist would need to take the middle of the road.

Now, gentlemen, whatever the paramount issue may be said to be,

I think you will all agree after this dinner that it is not the full dinner pail. That is a past issue.

The principal speakers of the evening will be permitted 25 minutes each and will be promptly rapped down at the end of the time. I have the pleasure to introduce to you as the first speaker of the evening, the President of the Hamilton Club, Mr. Fred A. Bangs.

MR. FRED A. BANGS: When our Secretary called me up over the telephone and requested me to talk upon the paramount issue or what I conceived to be the paramount issue, and incidentally suggested that perhaps I would like to talk on the money question as being a paramount issue, I really did not know what paramount issue meant. I had not given the subject of a paramount issue the consideration that was necessary for a discussion. I thought about it, wondered just exactly what was meant by the term. Of course I knew or thought I knew what the word "paramount" meant, but when in speaking of a political campaign and speaking of the paramount issues of that campaign, I did not know just what was meant. Did it mean that, leaving all others, you would cleave to it alone? Did it mean that it was greater and of more force than all the other issues put together? Did it mean that the adoption or the non-adoption of that thing which was put forward as the issue would bring destruction to the people of the United States or bring to them a common weal or the common welfare?

I thought of it, and then I thought how it would apply to me if I were sick. If I were not in financial trouble sickness to me probably at that time would be the paramount issue with me, to be cured; but during the time that I was sick if I should be sentenced to be hung the paramount issue to me at that time would be whether or not I could get rid of the gallows. As I thought that over it occurred to me that in this campaign the paramount issue is the money question. Money, gentlemen, not only affects the relations of the United States with the other foreign countries, but it affects you and me. It affects our daily life, our daily food. It affects our family and our friends. All of us without exception were not consulted when we were brought into this world. Few of us were brought into it with means behind us to take care of us, support us and carry us through life. The vast majority of us were brought here with an expectancy that some time in the future we would not only take care of ourselves, but would take care of others, of our fathers, of our mothers, of our wives, of our children, of our sisters, brothers and friends. It became early in life with us a question of existence and to me, gentlemen, with all of us in the same strata of life, the paramount issue is the question of existence. With a great many it doesn't mean mere existence. It means the comforts and luxuries of life and the extending to a vast

number of others the luxuries and comforts of life, the endowment of colleges, the bringing forth of communities, the uplifting of mankind.

In medieval days when there were but few inhabitants upon this earth the question of money cut no figure whatever. Those who existed at that time lived upon such fruit, herbs and things as the earth voluntarily produced without cultivation. As man increased and formed himself into tribes, one tribe produced that which the other tribe did not produce and it became necessary for them to exchange the production of one for the production of the other. For a great many years in the history of this world exchange was carried on not by any medium of exchange but by the articles produced or grown by the different tribes of the world. Then there arose no paramount issue in regard to the medium of exchange, because article for article was transferred or exchanged as the interests of men required. For a great number of years even after nations were established cattle were used as a medium of exchange. For a long while that went along successfully, but the difference in values between the different animals prevented a successful exchange in business. Commercialism grew and the necessities of mankind required that other mediums should be used. Then they sought to establish a currency. The baser metals were first used for coinage. They were used first by the cities, then by the nations and as each metal became debased in the market as to value the other metal rose and took its place. So it was with copper; so it was with iron; so it was with silver until at the present time the gold standard has demonstrated itself to be the only standard for the business of the world in all commercial dealings.

I do not intend to-night to argue the merits or demerits of the gold standard, because I believe that the issue as to the question of the gold standard being right or wrong was settled four years ago; that during the period covered by the administration of William McKinley the gold standard has been shown to be the only standard for commercial dealings. Assuming then that the gold standard is correct, that the silver 16 to 1 standard is wrong, that the prophecies which were made by those persons who favored 16 to 1 as the paramount issue four years ago were incorrect, then we drift on to the conclusion that necessarily follows. Every one will admit that there is no question in this campaign but that the doctrine of 16 to 1 is one of the issues involved. The Democratic platform sets it out at length the same as it did in its Chicago platform. Take it then as you find it. If the Democratic party intends to keep its promises, if it intends to live up to its platform the question of the debasement of the dollar is the question which is before the American people to-day because if the Democratic party goes into power on the 4th of next March it intends just as soon as it can to put into operation the doctrine of

16 to 1. What will be the result? From the relations that now exist between men the credit system has become one of the most potent of all systems of the world. The entire money of the world would not to-day cover all of the credits that are extended in commercial relations. The network extends through every branch of the business, the producer, the farmer, the manufacturer, the various men that handle the goods down to the consumer the credit system travels along hand in hand and, gentlemen, to my mind that is one of the evidences of the advancement of civilization, that trust which we place in our fellow man in extending to him credit, our own credit, the credit of the bank and the credit of the nation.

What would be the result if 16 to 1 went into force? The banks first would say to the man who went in and asked for a loan, "No, we can't do it. Our surplus is about exhausted. We can not extend to you any further credit. Your credit is cut off." That would extend to the manufacturer. It would extend to the consumer and it would extend to the middleman and to the jobber, the mill and all along the line. The mills would close. The men would be out of employment; they would be distressed and they would be walking the streets as they were in 1896, and I say to you, gentlemen, that that which affects the employment, that which affects the sustenance and that which affects the livelihood of men is the paramount issue; that when men are striving for success and they meet failure because of that friendly relation being cut off between men who extend to them credit and who extend to them livelihood, then it means to them not only failure but it means death; it means death to them, death to the nation, and death to the country. Gentlemen, I thank you.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, you have heard, probably all of you, two very ancient aphorisms. One of them is, "Money talks." You have had an example of it. The other is, "Talk is cheap." The next gentleman I shall have the pleasure of introducing to you is a member of a learned profession whose whole business in life is to prove to the community that that aphorism is not true. I have the pleasure of introducing Mr. Edward Osgood Brown.

MR. EDWARD OSGOOD BROWN: I do not conceive that the question presented for discussion here, in strict necessity, involves taking sides with either party in the political campaign that is upon us. For surely the question, What is the paramount issue of the campaign? could be answered in accordance with their own convictions, in diametrically opposite ways by two persons belonging to the same party, and in identically the same manner by two persons belonging to different parties.

Thus, one who sees in the gold standard the ultimate destruction

of all commercial national prosperity might, despite the assertion of the Kansas City platform, easily agree with the man who believes that the further safeguarding of that gold standard is the only method of escape from otherwise impending financial calamity, and hold, therefore, that in the contest between Mr. McKinley and Mr. Bryan nothing was of more importance, nor in truth more considered, than the currency question.

And so, too, the question of the material prosperity of the wage-workers of the country might be deemed the paramount issue of the campaign, both by the man whose vision seems bounded by immense pyramids of full dinner pails, and by another man who seems to see between the rows of dinner pails the gaunt haggard forms of starving miners and stunted children. These two men might consider the paramount issue the same, but they would be very likely to belong to different parties.

And so, also, as to the foreign policy of the present administration, that which it has done, is doing and apparently means to do in what are called our colonial possessions, may be deemed the paramount issue, as well by one party as by another. It was not only the Platform Committee at Kansas City who declared this to be the paramount political issue. The influential and reverend Doctor of Divinity who edits, in the Republican interest, that widely read religious journal, "The Outlook," recently, in that journal, thus expressed himself:

"The Outlook, in an editorial published on June 9, declared that in its judgment the paramount political issue in the approaching presidential campaign would be that presented by, and involved in, the foreign policy of the present administration. This is called by the Democratic party in its platform the issue of imperialism. The name appears to us infelicitous, but that does not much matter. We agree with the Democratic party in regarding this as the paramount political issue. We said so four weeks before the Democratic party said so, and nothing has occurred since to change our opinion. The issue presented by conflicting and antagonistic opinions of this policy constitute the paramount political issue in the present campaign. The Republican accepts, if he does not rejoice in, the new life on which the nation is entering, and he hopes to see his country go on steadfastly and consistently in the new path. He is glad the American flag floats over Cuba, Porto Rico, Hawaii, Guam and the Philippines, and he does not wish to see it taken down."

So, it will be seen that there are Republicans as well as Democrats, supporters of Mr. McKinley as well as supporters of Mr. Bryan, who disagree with the gentleman who has just taken his seat and hold that which is termed imperialism by its opponents to be the paramount political issue. And I am quite sure it is not only Dr. Abbott and

the readers of "The Outlook" among our more religious and theologically inclined Republican fellow-citizens who thus view the matter. I have recently read in the great organ of the Methodist Episcopal Church an editorial which says: "It seems as though God's hand led Dewey to Manila. How else can we account for that most singular expedition from Hongkong? It does not look as though it were pure human contrivance to select Dewey to command our fleet in the Asiatic waters, or that he should have been at Hongkong just when he was, or that he should have formed the purpose to do just what he did and as he did it, and establish himself on shore after the world-famous battle of May 1, 1898, or that those most beautiful islands of the Pacific, named for one of the worst monarchs that ever sat on the throne of Spain, should come into the possession of the most Protestant nation of the nineteenth century."

I feel quite certain that the man who penned those lines believe it to be the paramount issue of this campaign whether this "most Protestant nation of the nineteenth century" is to withdraw the heavy hand of conquest from the Catholic population of the Philippines; and I have as little doubt that he will vote for Mr. McKinley. And there are many, no doubt, who, like him, are advocates of the strenuous life and who hold that the pure light of the Gospel can gleam nowhere more brightly than from the bayonets of American soldiers, and that the possibility of such evangelization transcends all other issues in importance.

So as the question to-night is really, What is the most important issue in this political contest, and not which side of the issue is right or which side of it we should take, the question is not necessarily a partisan one, and perhaps, in the time to come when the true philosophy of life is better understood, and we are a little more civilized and reasonable, and a little less savage and strenuous, such a question might, in the heat of a presidential political campaign, be discussed dispassionately by a speaker and without his showing his own bias towards one or the other side of the issue asserted by him to be paramount. Perhaps that is what the committee expected to-night. If such was their idea, however, I fear that it is what the late Mr. Ingalls declared morality in politics to be—"an iridescent dream." Certainly the gentleman who has just addressed us has left us in no doubt as to whom he supports for the presidency, and I shall not apologize, therefore, for plainly indicating not only that I think he is wrong on the question of what the paramount issue is, but also on the question of which side of that issue justice and reason lie.

And, since this cannot but partake of the nature of a joint political debate, let me at the outset state my own position with reference to some questions the gentleman has raised.

As to the currency question, I agree with him on the desirability of the gold standard. It does not follow because I do not regard the question of its establishment or its further protection, the paramount issue of this campaign, that I do not believe in it. I do. But, in the first place, I do not regard it as so important as does he, and, secondly, if I regarded it as being ten times as important as I do, just the same I should not believe it was the paramount issue of this campaign.

As to the material prosperity of the country in general, I do regard that as being as important a question, as does the gentleman himself. But, for three reasons I do not hold the commercial prosperity of the traders of this country, nor even the still more important matter of wages for manual labor, as the paramount issue of this campaign.

First, because I do not believe, as does the gentleman, that the present condition of things is so extravagantly prosperous for either trader or workingman as does he, nor so extravagantly prosperous that an entire reversal of much of the Republican policy (notably in matters of taxation and tariff) will not work a great change for the better.

Secondly, because I believe that under present social conditions, and until more radical changes take place than any political party now is proposing or considering, markets, commercial depressions and commercial revivals are almost as independent of the success or failure of political parties as is the weather independent of the moon. And I suppose by the way, that I should have about as much trouble to convince some of you of the one as the other. And yet I believe them both. Commercial depressions and commercial revivals, in any large sense, are independent of the results of presidential campaigns, and the weather is independent of the changes of the moon. If that be a double heresy, you will have to make the best of it.

But, thirdly, I do not hold the commercial prosperity of the nation or the question of wages paid to its workingmen the paramount issue of this campaign, because, important as I know them to be, I conceive that there can be something more important still in the national life of any people, and to that more important factor our attention is perforce invited in the present contest. That more important factor is the ideal for which this nation shall stand.

Shall it stand as an illustration of a paternal government by patrician and privileged classes who shall regulate politics at home and affairs abroad as they will, provided only they give the masses "*panem et circenses*?" The Roman people were in their decadence when their satirist declared that a full dinner pail and rough riders made to them tyranny agreeable, and yet it seems to me that to noth-

ing less than this do the arguments of many political orators of to-day tend.

Or shall our nation stand as the embodiment of military glory and diplomatic power—a great imperialistic, masterful power, as unscrupulous as such powers have ever been in the exploiting of foreign and subjugated people? Senator Beveridge asserts that every progressive nation in Europe to-day is seeking lands to colonize and governments to administer. We are joining in the struggle and (I quote him literally): “This eternal movement of the American people towards the mastery of the world is a destiny neither vague nor undesirable.” It is, he declares, “definite, splendid, holy.”

Or shall the ideal of our country be neither of these, but be what we have always hitherto assumed it was—a republic holding aloft a light to the world, declaring to it, that a great and stable government is possible which recognizes that it is “of the people, for the people, by the people”; which founds its claim to existence not upon privilege, but upon the consent of the governed, and which asserts that liberty is the heritage of all men in all lands, and that the poor man has the same right as, and a greater need than, the rich man to share in the making of the laws?

It is because I believe that just this question (the question of what hereafter is to be the ideal of the United States) is involved in this campaign, that I can hold no other issue to be paramount. It is because I believe that in the conduct of the present administration towards the Hawaiians, towards the Cubans, towards the Porto Ricans and finally and, of course, most significantly towards the liberty-loving and unfortunate Filipinos, it has been destroying this ideal and substituting another—either the ideal of material prosperity for the masses and a privileged governing class to make the laws and manage political affairs at home and abroad—as the plutocrats would have it—or the ideal of military glory and the mastery of the world, as the jingoes like Senator Beveridge, would have it—that I heard with infinite satisfaction the great Democratic party through its platform committee at Kansas City, declare: “The burning issue of imperialism, involving the very existence of the republic and the destruction of our free institutions, we regard as the paramount issue of the campaign”;—and that I personally took part at Indianapolis in the framing of that declaration of the Anti-imperialist League of the United States, which begins with the words: “This liberty congress of the Anti-imperialists recognizes a great national crisis, which menaces the republic upon whose future depends, in such large measure, the hope of freedom throughout the world.”

I have not changed my mind. I believe still, as the Democratic party declared on the 4th of last July, that “the Declaration of Inde-

pendence is the spirit of our government, of which the constitution is the form and letter; that all governments instituted among men derive their just powers from the consent of the governed; that any government not based on the consent of the governed is a tyranny, and that to impose upon any people a government of force is to substitute the methods of imperialism for those of a republic." And I believe still, as the address of the Anti-imperialists declares, that "the policy of the President offers the inhabitants of Porto Rico, Hawaii and the Philippines no hope of independence, no prospect of American citizenship, no constitutional protection, no representation in the Congress which taxes them; that this is the government of men by arbitrary power, without their consent; and that a self-governing people can have no more imperative duty than to drive from public life a chief magistrate who, either of weakness or of wicked purpose, has used his temporary authority to subvert the character of their government and to destroy their national ideals." So believing, I cannot but regard the issue which is called imperialism to be paramount in this campaign.

Some of you object to the name. To change it would not sweeten the thing itself to me one whit. That to which those with whom I agree object, is not the name, but the thing. It is the policy of the administration,—which in Hawaii has ignored the rights of far the greater portion of the population; which, in Cuba, has laughed to scorn the appeal by the most tried of the Cuban patriots to that manifest implication of the joint resolutions of Congress beginning the war, which recognized the Cuban republic,—and which is now suspiciously delaying and temporizing in the redemption of the express pledge to leave the government and control of the island to its people; which, in Porto Rico, has established taxation without representation and government by the arbitrary will of a Legislature unfettered by constitutional restraints, and which in the Philippines has declared war without notice upon a friendly people, and sent 65,000 Americans to massacre them and destroy their homes, in order to sustain a sovereignty said to be bought from a European monarchy for gold.

To such a policy we are so unalterably opposed that no other issue or question can seem to us of importance beside it. Frankly, I do not see how it can to you.

I know what some may say. I know that Senator Hoar, after declaring that this issue is greater than parties, greater than administrations, greater than the happiness or prosperity of a single generation, nevertheless finds it not paramount or important in this campaign because several Southern States have followed Northern ones in unwise and undemocratic restrictions upon suffrage. I know that Andrew Carnegie, after deserving much praise and honor, for

standing bravely for democratic ideals of liberty, has found in his opposition to a perfectly temperate criticism by a Democratic convention of a Supreme Court decision, a pretext for refusing his support to Mr. Bryan; but I do not pretend to understand the process of reasoning by which either of them has reached his conclusion.

To some of you, perhaps, it may be that the Declaration of Independence and the ideals of a democratic republic which our fathers asserted were possible, seem but glittering generalities which ought now to be thrown aside as but the visionary theories of doctrinaires; but if you think so, as many men, not so numerous in this country as in older and more crystallized societies, have thought, you ought frankly to avow it. You will never have a better time to denounce what you must deem a flamboyant lie, and to fight for reality and sincerity in political life and discussion. But in such a position you could not deny that this issue is a paramount and all-important one in this campaign. We who support Mr. Bryan believe, heart and soul, that the general propositions of the Declaration of Independence are not barren idealities but fundamental political truths, good for all times and places. If you join issue with us here, and that is the question in this campaign, what can be more important or more vital?

It is the very essential principle of our political and social life here in the United States that is under review. To look no further than the Philippine war; to consider that alone—what is the situation? One party declares that it is the purpose of the United States to establish a government for the Filipinos suitable to what we deem their wants and conditions, and to give them self-government only when we think they are ready for it. This is to be done against the will of those Filipinos whom, despite the sneering allusions of Messrs. McKinley and Roosevelt, the whole world recognizes as the true representatives of the islands, a civilized, Christian, intelligent, kindly, liberty-loving people. And the method of doing it is first to shoot their men and leave their women and children to starve; to burn their houses, to ravage their fields; and to subject them to all the nameless horrors of war until subjection to American arms and submission to American authority, and abjuration of the expectation of independence have been extorted from them. The other party declares that its purpose is to stop the war; to accord to the Filipinos independence; to protect them while they form a government of their own, and to leave them as we in 1776 successfully insisted that we must be left, to work out their own destiny. These contradistinguished positions on this one subject (and it is only one of several which involve the issue which has been named imperialism) is the difference between the theory of slavery and the theory of liberty. It involves the old, old conflict between freedom and arbitrary

power. You may say it does not involve it for us, but only for brown men across the sea. It involves it both for us and for them. We cannot turn our backs on our ideals and our professions to their injury, and retain them for our own advantage. Lincoln's words come back to us with a fateful sound: "Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it."

Should we deny it to others, or not? Shall we retain it for ourselves, or not? These are the questions which make the paramount issue, not the matter of a full dinner pail or a stockbroker's ticker. True prosperity in our republic involves something higher even than material and physical well being, important as these are, and that something higher is the preservation of the spirit of liberty!

THE CHAIRMAN: The questions propounded by your Chairman are being rapidly answered, but so far they haven't all been answered. I think you will agree with me that the Club is very fortunate in having some guests to-night who represent other political parties than the two who are now contesting so vigorously for supremacy. I take great pleasure in introducing to you one of these guests, one who represents the Middle of the Road Populists and is a candidate for Congress in the Second District, Mr. W. H. Banigan.

MR. W. H. BANIGAN: I want to apologize for the party in so far that they have got such a poor representative here, but I will endeavor to place the position of the party before you and let you judge for yourselves if we are worthy of consideration. I was notified at noon time to come over here and the preparation that I made is not very extended. The issue in the case of the people who believe in Populism is whether the owners shall continue to produce and receive as their share of the production one-tenth of that which they create, or shall an equality exist; and the first proposition of the Declaration of Independence that there should be equal opportunity for all and special privileges to none, or shall we continue to permit land and money monopolists to take nine-tenths of the wealth that the laboring man creates? Land and money redeemable in coin controlled by land monopolists are the instruments by which the favored few receive 72 per cent of the wealth. It is not by the operation of imperialism, nor is it by the operation of the tariff, either high or low, but simply by the operation of what is called vested rights, that is, power to control land and to regulate money. And right here I want to state that both these gentlemen who agree on the money question, I believe, convict themselves when they say that in the event of the free coinage of silver the bankers of this country will say to the man who wishes to borrow "No," and that

means the shutting down of the mills and throwing the laboring man out of work and it means starvation, and right there it means the destruction of the whole commonwealth. That argument itself I should think is sufficient for any man on the money question, that the system that we have now is a detriment to the people—can be used as a detriment to the people.

Now, in order to create equality and better the condition of the people, we must attack these so-called vested rights. These vested rights by their operation take from the man who creates the wealth, nine-tenths of what he produces. His reward for the production of wealth is one-tenth and as long as those vested rights are in operation they can attack imperialism; they can attack the tariff; they can attack any old thing they desire, but still the man that creates the wealth loses nine-tenths of it, and I think we are all looking to get all the wealth that we can create. We certainly are under the Constitution entitled to all the wealth that we create ourselves.

The extirpation of these wrongs and the obliteration of this system of iniquity can be brought about by the wisdom of the people applied to the present social system. Reforms come slowly and a powerful instrument to use in the overthrow of this system is direct legislation through the initiative and referendum. It seems to me the simplest mode of procedure would be to take the power from the Legislatures and let all laws be sanctioned by a direct vote of the people. Many men have many minds and while direct legislation is a means of gaining justice and while it grants to the people the power to legislate for themselves it destroys the opportunity of the money power to corrupt the representatives. If there is wrong in the present system of government we should work out another and I contend that a reform in taxation along the lines of Populism would socialize the land, put it within the control of the people, and the obligation of the greenback dollar redeemable in silver would create equality and that is the only wish, to create equality. That is what we are all striving for. This small portion of the people, 9 per cent, receive 72 per cent of the wealth. There is none of that 9 per cent here this evening, I suppose. We are all of the balance, the 91 per cent that is working and contending for a small proportion of the wealth, 28 per cent. Now, if it is any satisfaction to you, gentlemen, that these 9 per cent receive 72 per cent of the wealth, you have only to refer to the United States statistician. He will verify the figures. That is the only issue, and this talk of imperialism and other things doesn't amount to anything in the estimate of Populism.

THE CHAIRMAN: Purely political questions arise and pass away with the generations that discuss them. Economic questions will settle themselves if you will let them alone. Purely moral ques-

tions have shaken the foundations of nations frequently in the history of the world and we have the germ of a moral question always with us. To-night we have with us a Prohibitionist and I take great pleasure in introducing Mr. John H. Hill, who will be given ten minutes.

MR. JOHN H. HILL: In line with what the Chairman has already stated, I presume that I can lay claim to one distinction for the party which I represent to-night which cannot be said of any other political party in the field, that it presents to you as the paramount issue the same question which it has presented to you as the paramount issue for eight succeeding campaigns. In the brief time which is allotted to me it is very difficult of course to make a proper presentation of the issue which the Prohibition party presents to you as the paramount issue and it will be only possible for me to mention just one or two phases of the question which illustrate the great importance of the question. Now, I apprehend that if I begin by assuming that you will all agree with me that if the Prohibitionists have their way and utterly abolish the liquor traffic, no one would be worse off and no one would be injured in his pursuit of happiness, and if that be so we know, all of us, that on every hand there is a vast multitude of people who are very much injured in their pursuit of happiness by the existence of the traffic. In the first place, to present one issue the Chairman stated to you that it is a moral question, but let me call your attention to one phase of the question which is not the moral phase of it, but the financial phase of it, and that interests every man who is interested in finance and who has accumulated sufficient to pay any considerable amount of taxes.

I have to say to you then in the beginning or simply to call your attention to the well known and well recognized fact that the drink bill of this country at a low estimate amounts to over a billion dollars annually, and I know when I mention that figure that I am simply dealing with a generality. We cannot comprehend what that means. We talk about millions, but when we get up to a thousand millions we don't comprehend. And yet that is given as a low estimate. That amount of money is taken out of other lines of trade and spent, some say wasted in this way. I can hardly treat it in the trifling manner as to say it is wasted. A great deal better if it were wasted, a great deal better if that amount was collected by taxation or special assessment from the people over the country and gathered up in one sum and thrown into the sea, but it is worse than wasted, for it must be said of this business as can be said of no other line of legitimate business that when a man pays his money into a saloon he is better off if he doesn't get what he pays for. And so to follow out the result of every dollar that is spent for liquor would be to give you

a result and a conclusion which would be far over and above any valuation which is placed upon it in dollars and cents because of the liquor traffic. Right here let me give you a school boy illustration of the enormity of the liquor traffic and what a burden it is upon the nation. Over across the river on the North Side, at the corner of Dearborn avenue and Michigan street, there is a large white stone building which cost half a million dollars, and just back of it around on Dearborn avenue there is another building just completed at a cost of \$150,000. That is the Criminal Court building and jail of Cook County. In that County Jail are from 400 to 700 prisoners all the time, never less than 400 and sometimes as many as 700. There are around in the Criminal Court from four to six Judges drawing a salary of seven thousand dollars a year, engaged exclusively with those cases. Then we have juries and the expense of caring for those prisoners, and we know that a majority of those prisoners find their way to the penitentiary or reformatory to be cared for and made a burden upon the State. Now, put together this situation and those facts and then place alongside of it the report of that Grand Jury that was made to Judge Hutchinson last spring, which could not overlook or ignore the result of their investigation so far as this traffic was concerned, and said explicitly that over 75 per cent of all the cases that came before them for examination and which referred to the Criminal Court were traceable to the saloon. Now, friends, if you will take 75 per cent of the cost of conducting the Criminal Court of Cook County, 75 per cent of the cost of keeping up the Police Court, 75 per cent of the expenses of feeding and caring for the prisoners, 75 per cent of the cost of maintaining the insane institutions of the County of Cook, 75 per cent of the cost of maintaining the orphan asylums around Chicago, and you have something of the importance of this question from a financial standpoint. I say to you it is more than a moral question. It touches our pocket-books. It is very largely and magnitudinously, if you will permit the use of the word, a financial and economic question.

There are so many phases of this question which as I say cannot be weighed or counted up to show in commercial life. Take a young man just starting out in life with all the brightest prospects that any young man has and we see that young man overcome by his appetite and becoming a burden upon the State, a disgrace to himself and a burden also upon his friends and a disgrace to them. Consider what his condition might have been, and will you place a valuation upon it and say what that is worth? There are some things which are too valuable, which we recognize as worth too much, to place upon them a valuation in dollars and cents?

I must call attention to the political phase of this question, and that is the power that this enemy, if I may call it so, and justly so

I insist, and the influence that it has upon political life. Do I exaggerate or overstate the case when I say to you that the liquor traffic as no other institution and as no other line of business in the nation dominates the policies of the political parties in this country? If that be not so answer this question: Why is it that no man high in the political life of this country dares open his mouth, no matter what his own convictions may be upon the question—dares utter a single word against the liquor traffic, if he hopes to be successful? There was a time when a Vice-President sat in the vice-presidential chair and said strong things about the liquor traffic, but that was a number of years ago. Abraham Lincoln said rough things, but that was years ago. We had William Windom and Senator Colquitt and other men of distinction, who in their time uttered their philippics against the traffic, but since their time we have no one in high life who dares utter a word against it. Now, Prohibitionists say that such an influence wielded as it is by a pernicious power ought to be destroyed, and that is the proposition which they present to you, and further, without trespassing upon my time, which I know must be up, I simply leave this proposition with you as simply stating the paramount issue in this or any campaign until it is settled. Manhood and womanhood and not dollars are the real units of value, and that righteousness and not money exalteth the nation. I thank you.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, there is yet another political party. We are gradually getting light. I take pleasure in introducing a member of the Social Democracy, Mr. A. M. Simon, who will be given ten minutes.

MR. A. M. SIMON: He tells you that you are gradually getting light and I don't know whether he made that remark in the sense of weights and measures, intellectually, or with reference to our party, but I will take it in the very best possible way that I can. The question that comes up to me is, What makes a paramount issue? In the first place, I want to ask your attention to the fact that the questions that have been brought up here to-night extend out beyond the bounds of Chicago, out beyond the bounds of the country, and clear across the world. One of the speakers has told you that to-day there was scarcely a nation that was not entering upon this realm of imperialism, and was kind enough to point out to you that he believed the question of markets and commercial changes and the banks were far beyond the touch of presidential campaigns. I agree absolutely, if you have presidential campaigns such as we have had in the past 100 years in this country. I ask you to take a glance at the history of expansion within the United States, for it seems to me to-day that the Democrats have pushed the question of imperialism

and expansion far enough to the front so that if you are going to offer anything as a paramount issue you must hitch it on to that. I want to point out to you that expansion is not a question of the United States alone and a question not of to-day alone. If we take the entire boundary of this country, and the Republicans are fond of pointing this out to you, it has been a history of the onward march of a nation across a continent.

Let's see if this does not coincide with the industrial question. Our friend has just told us that although they had a moral question, they had something greater, the question of the pocketbook, and I believe with him that the moral questions of to-day depend upon the economic and industrial questions that lie at the basis of our society. Let us see if we cannot observe the relations between the industrial conditions and the onward sweeping of our country. At the time when each man traded with his nearest neighbor the man who had something to sell could not carry it to another party beyond with any profit to himself, and at one time we were confined to the thirteen States. Fulton helped us to go up the rivers as well as down them and then we poured over in a flood of imperialistic expansion down the Ohio River into the Western Reserve and they found the market was getting wider and wider, and then came the first sweep of that industrial revolution that gave to the hand of man added skill and to the brain of man wider power, and it was possible for those who had goods to sell, to sell them. Still further, and then we began to fill up the Mississippi Valley, and then there came a time of the growth of the corporation. There were more corporations formed from 1880 to 1887 than any similar years before or since. A new power was invented by the brain of man and it was possible to manage a much larger business than before and so we filled up the Dakotas, Kansas, Iowa in another flood of expansion. Then we began to develop and flow over the Rocky Mountains and down the Pacific Coast and then we had this new and last development in industrial life—the trust. Here was the greatest labor-saving invention the world has ever known, an invention that at a single sweep takes 35,000 useless drummers and tosses them one side, an invention beside which anything that Watt or Hargreaves ever dreamed of was childish; an invention that gave to the man who could produce a great industry the power to take an order for a million tons of steel and he could take an order to fit out the Siberian Railroad, or the Manchester tram cars, and could manage a host of men as he once could manage two or three. And then it was when we had reached our limits that the cry of starving Cuba that had been in our ears for fifty years suddenly sounded loud enough to reach this morality, this love of humanity that was flowing out along the lines of commerce. It was then, fortunately by an act of Divine Providence, as our Methodist friend has told you, that Dewey was at Manila,

Fix in your mind's eye a map of the world to-day. Note how England has drawn, not the thin red line, but a dark blood-stained band, into every portion of the world. When you and I went to school Africa was marked "Unexplored" and now the Cape to Cairo Railroad is creeping across it. Note how but one place is left where this new development of capital has not reached, the little country of China, a space about the size of the United States, and a population five times as great. Here is a spot that is not explored. Along from the North creeps the Russian bear and a little further down trying to creep in is little Japan, just leaping into it like ourselves, and a little further Siam, and a little further South British India. Now, do you see why it was that this Divine guiding power of Providence led us on to put Dewey in the only place on earth?

Well now then Mr. Bryan comes on before you and tells you that he is going to choke imperialism abroad, but he is going to let the father of imperialism at home grow stronger and stronger. "Oh, no," you say, "he is going to bust the trust." Does any sensible, honest, intelligent man believe he is going to bust the trust? There were some men once in England who took clubs and busted the machines. Do you know what happened? Their heads got cracked a little later. You cannot roll back progress. I simply say to you that now the question arises as to who this paramount issue is for. The trust with the telephone and telegraph can feel every quiver of the market. It has unexcelled opportunities to produce and fill those wants. And they want imperialism. They can sell in any markets of the earth. There is the little laboring gas-fitter who has a little stove to sell who can only reach out a little way. He believes we ought to crush this onward march and that imperialism is the paramount issue that ought to be stopped; but there is another great mass of our population who have nothing to sell but the strength of their muscles and the skill of their brains, and they say that the paramount issue is the imperialism of the workshop, not the imperialism of the army, and that the paramount issue is who shall own the things whereby wealth is produced, and we say the paramount issue in conclusion is the product to the producer, and the production which is now compulsorily co-operative shall then with that consummation be voluntarily so.

THE CHAIRMAN: Now, gentlemen, we have arrived at the dangerous part of our programme. From now on it is free for all, five minutes at a time, and one man at a time, and I call your attention to the fact that the Chairman has been perfectly fair to-night. He has heard all phases of opinion patiently, as you have also, and he simply asks that you observe a necessary rule of the Club, and that is to shoot over the Chairman and not through him.

MR. NORMAN P. WILLARD: If it were not for Bryan and Bryanism I should consider the paramount issue of this campaign the defeat of McKinley and McKinleyism. If it were not for McKinley and McKinleyism I should consider the defeat of Bryan and Bryanism the paramount issue. As it is, there may come a time when the paramount issue of a presidential campaign shall be socialism, and then I shall be against the Socialists. There may come a time when intelligent regulation of the Trusts will be the paramount issue of the campaign; but as it is to-day my observation of the platforms of both parties on the Trust question is to the effect that they are generally combinations of ignorance and hypocrisy. In New York State, for example, whether Platt or Croker dictates the platform, it is mainly hypocrisy; in Texas or Kansas it is mainly ignorance.

My observation is that all of the arguments of the Democratic speakers in the newspapers of the country and platforms against McKinley and McKinleyism, except perhaps with regard to the Boers and with regard to the gold standard, I agree with; and all of the arguments of the Republican speakers against Bryan and Bryanism I agree with. One of my objections against McKinley is that he is not enough of a gold standard man. One of my objections against Bryan is that he has been not enough of an anti-imperialist.

There are a good many questions of this campaign which we are not likely to hear gone into on any public platform. For example, with regard to Mr. McKinley, we haven't time now to think about the embalmed beef and the hospital abuses. We cannot think now in regard to the way in which he nullified the canteen law. So with regard to Bryan and Bryanism. There are many things that we cannot stop now to think about. With regard to the Prohibitionists I will say that it appears to me that if a party has been before the people for thirty-two years and isn't able to get on any ballot except by petition, the logical processes of that party must be a little weak somewhere. And in regard to the Socialists, it seems to me there are about seventeen different kinds. They cannot agree among themselves. There isn't any reason to believe that they ever will agree if they are put in power. We have Bryan with all the arguments against him that were against him four years ago and in addition he is now allied with Tammany. Under the circumstances it appears to me that it ought to have been possible that the great issue should be the organization of a new party, which should unite the men who really agree together, the great majority of the American people, but who practically have been controlled by the demagogues, and who do not agree with their leaders, the professional politicians. But it is too late; a ticket was not put in the field soon enough.

As the matter now stands I consider that the paramount issue is to rebuke Bryan and also to rebuke McKinley. How shall I

do it? It was said by Mr. Jones, Chairman of the National Democratic Committee, shortly after the election: "We should have won, but for the conviction that took hold of the people that Bryan was unsafe; that if he should be elected the finances of the country would be subjected to profound disturbance; that values would be unsettled, confusion and universal uncertainty created by the executive, and the oppressive hard times indefinitely continued." The American people will defeat Bryan to-day as surely as they did four years ago, but I don't believe that the American people believe in imperialism even though they elect McKinley. How shall they show that? For myself, I propose to write on my ballot in a proper way the names of three or four electors, men whom I know to be gold standard, civil service reform, moderate tariff anti-imperialists, and for the other twenty electors I shall vote for McKinley electors. If I don't want to take that trouble, I should go through my ballot and put a cross opposite the names of the last twenty-three or the twenty-four McKinley electors.

MR. HERMAN KUEHN: I shall not state for what political party I choose to yield my advocacy, but I want to say as to the paramount issue—and I think that when I have declared what I think the paramount issue to be, a suspicion will enter the mind of every man here as to where logically I must stand. I say that I am to-day for the same thing as were those men in Philadelphia who in 1776 signed the Declaration of Independence. I think having made that statement that my position now is perfectly clear to every man here. I believe to-day that taxation without representation is tyranny. I don't need to say for what candidate my vote shall be cast when I have made those declarations. I believe to-day that if I took Washington's farewell address to the American people and read from it any ten sentences picked out at random, that I need not state to any audience where I stand to-day. I say to-day the paramount issue is the Declaration of Independence as it has always been and must continue to be until this republic is blotted out. I think I have intimated where I stand when I have stated what to my mind is the paramount issue.

Now the question of money is always paramount. It means very much to the people of any country, and as civilization has progressed we have learned more and more that we can get along without savage and barbarous kinds of money, and that the evolution of commerce will lead us eventually to the safest money. As to this money question, while I have not stated who my preference is for, it must appear from what I have said, and if it has failed to appear I will make it still plainer by saying squarely, but that of course is not the question, but very close to the paramount issue, that those people who believe

fondly, without very much foundation, I think, that all the laws and systems are for those who toil and produce—they will come to the conclusion finally that scarce money is for the benefit only of the interest gatherers of the country.

I will just tell a little story to close my five minutes, about a little happening of 400 years ago. Rabelais relates it in his memoirs. He was at one time not a very fashionable author, but here he probably goes. This, however, is one of the mild ones. He tells of the cook who in his little pastry shop used to roast beef every day and in those days they roasted it on a spit before an open fire, and as it revolved the cobbler walked in with his piece of rye bread and held it over this revolving meat, and one day the cook said to the cobbler, "It is about time you settled with me." The cobbler said, "Why, what do I owe you?" And the cook replied, "Why, you owe me for the fragrance of my meat that has gone into your bread all these many years," and the cobbler listened and said, "I owe you nothing." And finally rather than quarrel, as old neighbors shouldn't do, they agreed to leave it to the arbitrament of the first passer, who happened to be the King's Jester, the Court Fool. And they called him in and stated to the Fool the predicament in which the dilemma had placed them and he pledged them to accept his arbitration, which they agreed to, and then he said to the cobbler, "Have you a piece of silver with you?" The cobbler, thinking the verdict was against him, very reluctantly drew forth a piece about the value of our dime, and the Fool said, "I don't want to take it from you, but go there to that marble slab and ring it to let us hear that it is sound money. The cobbler did so. The Fool said to the cook, "Did you hear the jingle of his money?" "Yes." "Do you think that is sound money?" "I do." "Cobbler," said the Fool, "put your money back in your pocket." Turning to the cook he said, "Cook, for the smell of your meat you have heard the jingle of his sound money." So to-day I do believe—and I think you will all know where I stand when I have said that, too, that the producer of the wealth hears the sound of the money and to the banker the money passes.

MR. A. H. HEYMAN: I want to say at the beginning that what I say is brought out by what I have heard here. I want to tell you a story I heard on Chauncey Depew first. Chauncey was at a banquet at Washington at which was a distinguished brother from Kansas. His fame was very great in his own country and when he got up to speak he said, "Gentlemen, I am not as great an orator as Mr. Depew. Why, all he has to do is to have you drop a dinner in the slot and up comes a speech." Then Mr. Depew followed him and said, "I am not like the distinguished orator from Kansas. All he has to do is to drop his speech in the slot and up comes a dinner."

Now, it has been my good fortune to preside at some of the noon-day meetings. For seventeen days straight I have heard about 400 speeches and it has been my custom to call speakers down, so I expect to be paid with my own money to-night. The question is, What is the paramount issue? The different speakers, after naming their own pet issues, have discussed that issue without showing why that issue is paramount. Now, that elusive thing called the paramount issue has not been discovered so far as I can see. Each man has shown that he thinks he has the paramount issue, but he cannot demonstrate beyond peradventure that it is the paramount issue. I will take the same privilege and select the paramount issue. My idea is this, "First, what is an issue?" Before you can have an issue something must be affirmed and somebody must deny it. If imperialism is exactly what Mr. Brown—a very distinguished gentleman for whom I have the greatest respect—has said, it is true, then the Republican party agrees with you, that imperialism is a bad thing and there is no issue. The point is that we deny that all the different horrible things that are ascribed to the policy of Mr. McKinley are imperialism. Our position is that imperialism is a mere bugaboo to hide behind. Imperialism is the sum total of political insanity. I know that I am talking to men who know a great deal more than I do and I must be careful what I say. I know that I am not talking to the ordinary political audience where high glittering platitudes receive the greatest applause. I know that from experience. I believe that imperialism is the *ne plus ultra* of Democratic dogma. It is the very limit to which an office-seeker will go in trying to get the office, and I believe, too, with you, that imperialism is the paramount issue, because it is the great humbug issue.

Now, in 1896 a man was either a gold bug or a silver bug. This year he is neither a gold bug nor silver bug, but he is a humbug. I believe the Middle of the Road gentleman said that the first speaker convicted himself when he said that the banks would refuse to loan money. The answer to that is apparent to all of you. You wouldn't loan money if you didn't think it was safe. That is all there is to it. Let's get down to earth and get out of idealism. Idealism is a grand beautiful dream. It reminds me of the story about the poetical horse. An old Irishman said that he had a poetical horse attached to his cab, and when the occupant of the cab saw the horse going along, head twice as long as it ought to be, scrawny and a great many defects as it wobbled along, he said, "Say, why do you call that a poetical horse?" The owner replied, "Because he goes further in imagination than in reality." Men never fight about nothing. Before you have the spiritual you must have the material. Whatever tends to material prosperity in this country is a good thing for this country and you can leave the spiritual, moral and whiskey questions until after-

wards. You all know that when we have material prosperity, when every man is contented, there can be very little discussion on any economic question. Did you ever hear of a strike when everybody was happy and well paid? Of course everyone doesn't get that in his own opinion. Some men here to-night might think they are entitled to greater reward. There is Bryan; he is not President, but he thinks he ought to be. He might not think he has been treated right. A general condition of prosperity, which means an opportunity for every man to labor and get his reward according to his wealth, is all that can be accomplished and idealism will never make it any better.

MR. ALEXANDER J. JONES: The remarks of the gentleman who has just seated himself remind me of the proceedings that daily take place in the Criminal Court, to which our Prohibitionist has referred us. The prisoner is called to the bar. He is made aware of the indictment against him and he pleads not guilty. It is the duty of the State's Attorney to weigh the evidence in all its circumstances to justify the charge contained in the indictment. The gentleman has pleaded not guilty to imperialism. The plea of not guilty is no more in itself an evidence than is the charge, but he is in some circumstances and with some detail attempting to convince us that the charge of imperialism has no possible application to the issues of this campaign. I regret to call his attention to a fact of history, and I would not call his attention to that fact if he did not state in the beginning that it has been his honor and distinction to preside for some weeks past at the regular noonday meetings of the Republican party, and as a gentleman clothed with that honor and distinction I assume that he has read Gibbon's *Rome* and all those historical works that deal with the Roman Empire. I assume that he has read the history of the great first consul of France, pregnant with Republican ideas, clamoring for the rights of the people and finally leading an army to the conquest of an empire—Emperor Napoleon I. If he will read Gibbon he will find that the first motive of conquest in the history of ancient Rome was the tribute of the conquered provinces. He will find that the whole incentive to the work of the legions in the far-off lands was not of itself the glory of the conquest, but the fruit of the conquest. That being the case, I am unable to share the virtuous indignation with which he repels the insinuations which some of my Democratic brethren have cast against the administration of McKinley.

It has been my fortune and pleasure to stand in the presence of the Sunset Club a few months ago and commend the policy of McKinley up to that time; but I wish to remind them that at that date the American Congress had not spoken. At that date the doctrine

of imperialism had not been promulgated to the extent of requiring the tribute of taxation from the helpless Porto Ricans, and when the American Congress passed that bill in the face of the protest of the best thought of the Republican party I ceased my devotion as a Democrat, for I am a Democrat, and my commendation of the administration of President McKinley, and I was forced to admit with regret as an American that the President of the United States, like the Emperor of France, had receded from his early station and had indeed lent color to the radical element of Democracy, who saw nothing in these conquests but the ultimate policy of the imperialism of ancient Rome. I thank you.

MR. E. A. MUNGER: I can stand this speech better than you can, because I am from Kansas. To my mind it is not strange that we differ as to the paramount issue. With each man that which moves him is within his own conscience, and this country is not going to the demnition bowbows whether any or either or all of us have our way or not. The American Union is not going to be destroyed whether or not we have an expansion into the islands of the sea or remain in our present condition; and any talk to the effect that any policy advocated by any man, either Bryan or McKinley, is going to ruin this country is in my judgment pure buncombe, because this country is big enough to stand any experiment and to survive it, even though it be a dishonest experiment, such as free silver or such as expansion, that Mr. Brown regarded with great horror—expansion or imperialism it matters not. No man will dare to set up an imperialistic standard in this country. No man would dare to attempt it, and you gentlemen wouldn't permit it for a moment. It wouldn't be permitted anywhere within the United States. It never will be permitted. Our colonies were founded upon religious liberty and the equality of all men before the law, and they are going to remain founded upon those two rocks for all time. Wherever we have taken our civilization we have taken those two principles with us. Every foot of country we have ever conquered has had first religious tolerance, second equality of all men before the law, and those two things will last, as I believe this country will last, until the end of doom. I don't believe the Prohibition party presents a national issue, nor do I believe the Populist party presents a national issue, but they are State issues. A national issue is something that comes with the province of the national Congress and the President. The reason why I believe the silver issue and Bryanism the real definite issue in this campaign is because the other matters are of comparatively small import. If we retain the Philippine Islands—if we don't contract we will take over to them our civilization. Our soldiers, when they go there, go with the American Constitution and

flag, and they go backed by American thought and ideals. That is the only thought or ideal that can animate any of them as a permanent policy.

I believe myself in expansion. I believe when we are taking the Philippine Islands we will take to them the finest ideas of Christian civilization, but we want to remember that when we fought with brothers in this land of ours in the greatest war that mankind has ever known, the greatest General said, "First unconditional surrender, and then let us have peace." I say to you, gentlemen, that when a single rifle is aimed with malicious intent, with harmful intent against the American flag, no American has a right to say whether or not that is aimed with good motive. It is aimed against the American flag. It is our flag, and every generation in this country has seen added to that azure field one star that is the glory of the nation. When they lay down their arms we will deal with them wisely, patiently, carefully and well. If it be best to give them their liberty, they will get it. They will get it if it belongs to them. If it doesn't belong to them they will not get it, but whatever we do we will carry to them under our national obligations, our civilization. We will uplift them, and the American nation will have made the first grand stride in that which has hitherto been only the dream of the poet, the federation of the world.

THE CHAIRMAN: The discussion will be closed by the principal speaker of the evening. Mr. Brown will now address you.

MR. EDWARD OSGOOD BROWN: Gentlemen, I am sorry the discussion is to come to an end so early. I can only say of the words of the eloquent speaker that they have a strangely familiar sound. I heard something of that sort when General Weyler was attempting to enforce unconditional surrender in Cuba before reforms were granted to the Cubans. I have heard that in the last two years in the Philippine Islands, this great American republic, the child of the Declaration of Independence, has killed more Filipinos than the Spaniards have killed in trying for a century to overcome the Filipino insurrection. Carry the civilization of the United States to the Filipinos! I wonder that the gentleman, our Prohibition friend, who discussed the moral issue, did not say something about the civilization that the American soldier has carried to Manila, where to-day there are forty saloons where there was one before we took possession.

A MEMBER: Prove it.

MR. BROWN: I will prove it.

MR. E. E. PERLEY: Those saloons are in anticipation of Mr. Bryan's election probably.

MR. BROWN: It may be. I don't know that I have the statistics which I thought I could refer to here. The authority which I have for it, however, is the reports from Manila, such correspondents as you know, like Mr. McCutcheon and Mr. Ade, and the words of those gentlemen can be taken by any citizen of Chicago without fear and without the slightest possibility of suspicion of their veracity. I have seen the newspaper published in Manila covered with advertisements of American beer and American whiskey. I have seen reports over and over again showing the increase in the number of houses of ill-fame in Manila, the increase in the number of saloons, as I say, forty to one. I have seen statements concerning which I haven't any doubt whatever of their truth, but I care not for that. We know some things that no gentleman will call upon me to prove. We know that at least 30,000 Filipinos have been killed in the various conflicts, scrimmages and fights which the American people have had with the Filipinos.

A MEMBER: How many Americans?

MR. BROWN: A very much fewer number, of course. Of course, the American army can conquer the Philippine Islands. They can exterminate the Filipinos. Do you want them to do it? That is not the question. The question is whether this great republic should be engaged in that kind of business. The very statement which the gentleman makes is sufficient to condemn imperialism. He does not know we will give them liberty. We will give them our civilization and liberty if we think they ought to have it. Our civilization! Suppose they don't want our civilization? That is the question. Liberty, as I said, is the heritage of all men in all countries. So the fathers of our republic declared.

A MEMBER: How about the American Indian?

MR. BROWN: We have a century of disgrace behind us with relation to the American Indian. We have murdered the American Indian and we have cheated the American Indian, and that is exactly what we are doing with the Filipino.

These gentlemen, some of them have said, one gentleman in particular who presides at the noonday meetings, that imperialism is a bugbear and a humbug, and that nobody believes that Mr. McKinley or anybody whom the Republicans will elect, will put a crown upon his head and put a scepter in his hand and declare himself Emperor of the republic. I don't believe even the gentleman himself would quite submit to that. But imperialism, as I tried to prove, in the sense in which the Democratic party uses it to-day, in the sense in which the anti-imperialistic party uses it, means the government of people by arbitrary power without their consent, and if the American republic is undertaking to govern people across the sea or in Porto Rico, or in Hawaii, or anywhere else outside of the United

States by arbitrary power and by unconstitutional restraint, it is engaged in the imperialistic policy. That is what I mean. The gentleman cannot make a definition of imperialism for us who oppose it. Imperialism in our sense means that the present administration is engaged in destroying the ideal of the American republic because it is asserting that what is good for us here is not good for people abroad, and that we are the judges of what is good for them. That is contrary to the very fundamental doctrines of the American republic. It is contrary to all the teachings of the fathers. It is contrary to the instinct in favor of liberty, which ought to dwell even in these commercial days, in the American citizen.

These paramount questions, such as Prohibition and Socialism and Populism, and so forth, there is one answer to them—has Mr. Debs any possible chance of election? Has Mr. Barker any chance of election? Has our friend's candidate, the Prohibitionist, any chance of election?

A MEMBER: Has Mr. Bryan?

MR. BROWN: Well, gentlemen, let me answer the question; yes, Mr. Bryan has a chance of election. If the others have not, their issues are not paramount in this campaign.

MR. FRED A. BANGS: I have been considerably interested in the different views entertained by the different speakers, and I believe that each man who has spoken believes that the issue which he has put forward is the paramount issue. I can readily understand how the Prohibitionist believes in the entire abolition of the entire liquor traffic. If there were not forerunners in the field of all moral reforms you would never have a moral reform. I can understand the feeling and desire that underlies the expression given to-night on imperialism. It is because they have at heart the love of this country, the love of freedom and the love of its people.

The same thing underlies all of the expressions of all of the orators for the Republican party—the love of country, the love of its people and general freedom. I say that there is not a single man in this assembly to-night or in the United States to-day who would not have followed the same policy had he been in President McKinley's place at Washington. I say that had they stated the issues that presented themselves to him, as he stated them at the time, I say, gentlemen, that they would have acted exactly as he did.

Regarding Porto Rico, to which Mr. Jones has referred, there was a people without a government, left stranded when Spain was driven out. There was a people without any income to support a government. Its people were too poor to stand an internal revenue tax. They couldn't stand the pressure for the running of the government. What was to be done? Were you going to further impoverish

an already impoverished people or were you going to assist the persons who consumed the things that they had to sell? You must remember, gentlemen, that there are other sides to this question. You have got to have a government for the people, and you have got to supply funds for the support of that government, and I say that President McKinley was right. The only way in the world that you could have produced an income sufficient to carry on that government without working a great injustice to the Porto Ricans, was to put on a tax so that the consumers of the articles that they had to sell would pay it, and every single dollar that was raised by that tax was sent over to Porto Rico to pay the expenses of that government. Imperialism the paramount issue of this campaign? Do you really believe that there is any such thing in America or in the Philippines as Imperialism? The man that says that, understanding it thoroughly, does not in his heart believe it. What did we find when he settled this question of the war with Spain over Cuba? We found the territory over here captured in the battle of Manila. The question presented to the administration was, Shall we take that territory or turn it back to Spain, to be governed by Spain in the same manner Cuba and Porto Rico had heretofore been governed? I leave it to you, gentlemen, as to which was the better for the people of the Philippines. The war was not a result of the taking of the Philippines by this administration. It was not caused by anything that America did. Before the Treaty of Paris was agreed upon—before the Senate ratified the Treaty of Paris, the insurgents in the Philippines fired upon the American troops, and that, gentlemen, was the cause of the war in the Philippines with the Americans. The dates, the reports and everything proves that to be true. To my mind the only question before us in regard to the Philippines is not the question of imperialism, but the question of proof. The Democrats on the one side assert that we are over there carrying on an inhuman, unholy war. We assert that we are carrying on a war because we were fired upon and because we are guarding the liberties the American people are so proud of. I say to you, gentlemen, that there is not a man in this audience who would have backed out, quit, surrendered in the war that was carried on in the South for the freedom of the slaves. Do you want us now to back out, quit, surrender, when we are carrying on a war for the freedom of the Filipinos in the Philippine Islands? I say to you, gentlemen, that in all seriousness because the tribe that is fighting the American forces in the Philippine Islands is a very small tribe, about 600,000.

To come back, gentlemen, merely to the question of the money issue. I believe that no matter who is elected, no matter who occupies the presidential chair, the same result will happen as to the Philippines, but the same result will not happen as to the question of

money, and if the result of this election is followed by the adoption of a standard that is a dishonest standard, that interferes with the business of the country, that impoverishes its people, why then naturally and without any objection at all it must be the paramount issue.

Adjourned.

JOSEPH W. HINER, Secretary.

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTH MEETING

NOVEMBER 15, 1900

ONE HUNDRED AND NINE PRESENT

SUBJECT:

**The Late Election. What Will be Its
Effect on Parties, Policies and
Issues?**

CHAIRMAN: REV. PHIL. F. MATZINGER

ADDRESSES BY

CAPT. WM. P. BLACK

JUDGE CHARLES S. CUTTING

MR. CHARLES R. WHITMAN



ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTH MEETING.

Held at the Palmer House, Thursday, November 15, 1900.

One hundred and nine present.

LADIES' NIGHT

The Late Election. What Will Be Its Effect on Parties, Policies and Issues?

THE SECRETARY: This meeting is something of an innovation. Heretofore when we have had the pleasure of entertaining the ladies we have avoided politics and have selected subjects which we thought were specially interesting to our guests. I remember attending the Sunset Club one ladies' night, when the subject for discussion was "Clean Streets and Alleys." I always thought that the choice of such a subject as that involved the undue assumption that woman's chief occupation is cleaning and scrubbing. By our choice of a question this evening, we recognize the fact that woman is a political as well as a domestic entity, and that perhaps sometime, without relinquishing the broom, she may find another weapon in the ballot. A college which had adopted the system of co-education of the sexes announced that fact in its prospectus by stating that "the student body embraces young women." Perhaps sometime the political body will embrace young women, and old ones also. Four

states already have adopted woman suffrage, and even in this conservative commonwealth ambitious femininity has succeeded in breaking into the ante-room of the political temple. There are a good many ladies who are connected with the Sunset Club either by birth or marriage, and the number is constantly increasing. The marriage rate and the birth rate are keeping up to the normal standard. So we have concluded that we ought to have more ladies' nights than we have formerly had, and to make them as much like the other club meetings as possible. A member of the club said to me this evening that he thought our subject was rather unfortunate. He could not see any object in discussing the effects of the late election, because even though woman's suffrage will come some time, the effects of the recent election will have disappeared long before that time. I am not so sure of that. I think there are some gentlemen who will feel the effect of the election of 1900 for about fifty years. I am not sure but some of them will carry those effects with them to their homes beyond the skies. But that is a matter which can properly be referred to our clerical friend who is to preside this evening.

It has been said that the Presbyterians and Baptists are the Lord's army and navy. My friend Mr. Matzinger, who is perhaps known to some of you as pastor of the Campbell Park Presbyterian Church, represents the theological army. I mention that fact in order that those of you who expect to participate in this discussion may see the necessity of behaving yourselves as well as circumstances will permit. I now take very great pleasure in introducing your chairman, Rev. Philip F. Matzinger.

THE CHAIRMAN: "This club evidently does things so well that if Shakespeare is right it has brought us near the verge of mental bankruptcy. For was it not he who said—

"The mind must fast; fat paunches have lean pates;
And dainty bits make rich the ribs, but bankrupt quite the wits."

Now some of us have been quite reckless when we were engaged in the first part of this evening. For my part I have been, and I don't know but my wits are bankrupt. Perhaps that is all the better for a chairman, for one of the necessary qualifications of a satisfactory chairman is that he shall not be too brilliant; he shall not be so brilliant that he casts any little shadow over the brilliancy of the other speakers of the evening. Now I think I can carry out that part of the requirements of the chairman this evening. I shall do my best at least to accomplish it. Also I understand that the qualifications of the chairman are that he shall have no particular opinions of his own. I am afraid I shall fail a little bit there. We Presbyterians are known to have somewhat decided opinions on some subjects, but I shall make a very great effort to disguise them to-night. Besides we have some ideas about politics, too, and some little thought on prophecy, and that has something to do with the evening. But I shall make a great effort to push those into the background to-night at least.

Now if I mention prophecy, I have an idea that is the subject before us to-night. I have no idea of what the speakers shall say, but any one who can tell us what will be the result of the present election certainly must be something of a prophet. Now that is a fascinating occupation, that of prophecy, and certainly is by no means one that has been lost. There are prophets who tell things by a sort of intuition. I don't know that there are many of those now, excepting perhaps the ladies. The men at least assert that the ladies give no particular reason for their opinions, but that they "just know," and perhaps that is something that will hold true about the future also. But among the men there are prophets of this sort, there are still men who know how to put two and two together and arrive at a result. And it is a remarkable gift, for logic is a sort of prophecy, and our speakers to-night, I think we may feel with some assurance, will tell us some things with a fair degree of accuracy, because they know the conditions and know what the results of these conditions will be. For my own part, I rarely ever express my opinion about the things that come until after they have come. I am very much more sure then to strike them right. Then there is another class of prophets also who have it in their bones, this gift, and in the political line that may be true also, they feel in their bones the things that are to come. I have noticed on the list of principles of this club, there is one to the

effect that nobody is to make a long speech. I shall have to apply that rigorously to all the speakers this evening. I am told I must. First of all I must apply it to myself. I think you have been a little unkind to me to tell me that I must not preach. This is such a splendid opportunity for preaching. But among your regulations there is this also, that one must not preach here. And beside there is one which must try a minister a little bit. There are to be no contributions, and I don't know but what a minister feels a little lost when he sees such an opportunity as this, and there is no chance for a collection. But I am not to make the speech of this evening, or anything like a speech. I must warn you that it is usual for the chairman to be reminded of stories during the course of an evening more or less funny. Now that is a peculiar right of the chairman of this sort of a meeting, and I rather expect I will be affected by it also, but I will make a very great and serious effort to suppress any such funny story as shall come to my mind during this meeting to-night.

Now I have the pleasure to-night to introduce to you one who probably needs no introduction, for we all know him—Captain William P. Black.

CAPT. WM. P. BLACK: I am called upon, as a representative of the Chicago Platform Democracy, to discuss briefly the topic, The Recent Election; What Will Be Its Effect Upon Parties, Policies and Issues? Three questions are presented:

How will the late election affect parties?

In the national platform adopted by the representatives of the Republican party in the Philadelphia convention, endorsement was invited of "the administration of William McKinley." It was claimed that while "walking untried paths and facing unforeseen responsibilities," his course had been wise and patriotic, and that his policy should be continued. The endorsement called for has been given. The Republican party, therefore, must feel that it is again commissioned to proceed along the lines which it has hitherto pursued; and that whatever further action is required to give effect to the

policies which have obtained under the administration of Mr. McKinley must be taken. The Republican party espoused the scheme of colonial extension, and as a result of the election it now stands as the champion thereof, and of the idea that our republic is to take its place as one of the world powers, more and more seeking "prestige abroad" by intervention and participation in matters and interests foreign to our own continent. The party stands to-day for a strong government, and for a limitation of the principles of the Declaration of Independence. In view of its record, under the administration of the last four years, it cannot henceforth consistently maintain "that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. That to maintain these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed."

To the Republican party in the immediate future, therefore, more and more will turn the champions and advocates of imperialism, of the trusts, of militarism, of special privileges for the classes as against the universal and unalienable rights of all men; and particularly there will be drawn to this party all the advocates of the adoption by our country of a colonial system patterned on that of Great Britain—the exercise of imperial sovereignty over subject peoples without regard to their consent or desires.

In opposition to the Republican party, representing these tendencies and this theory of government, there must of necessity be a party that will represent the opposite tendencies and the converse theory; unless, indeed, the whole people become apostate to the cardinal principles upon which our fathers laid the foundations of our government. But not all at once can the convictions that gave inspiration to the Revolutionary struggle die out of the minds of the descendants of the patriot fathers. Not in a moment of time can the passion for individual liberty and for the right of self-government, which furnished the incentive to our Revolutionary sires, when they pledged to the maintenance of the truths of the Declaration of Independence, life and fortune and sacred honor, pass out of the hearts of the sons of America, and all those who, lured by the supreme beauty of the doctrines enunciated by them, have come out of every kindred and nation and tribe, from every land and from the islands

of the seas, to this the home of liberty, here to join the great army of the soldiers of freedom. An entire people never at once become faithless to the traditions which have been interwoven with their national life, and have furnished the incentive to their national activity through more than a century of growth and glory. Hence it is certain that for the time at least there will be a great party in opposition to the dominant Republican party.

Will it be, as in the past campaign, the Democratic party?

The answer to that question will depend upon whether or not the money power can get control of the machinery of the Democratic party, as is obviously purposed by those who are now talking of the reorganization of the Democratic party. The true democracy will not submit to be reorganized by men who have, for two successive Presidential campaigns, been fighting against it, while insisting upon holding to the name of Democrats. In the first campaign the fight was in the open; but in the campaign just closed it has been carried on covertly and treacherously. We of the great mass that have fought the fight and kept the faith, do not accept as a sufficient excuse for the renunciation in this campaign of party fealty by these would-be reorganizers, that they regard the Kansas City platform as perpetuating a financial heresy. From their own point of view the question of finance is a question of policy; not of fundamental principle. Upon their theory the financial system which is to prevail in our country touches the matter of the conditions of prosperity and material development; but it does not come down to the very foundation stones upon which the structure of our government was imposed by the fathers. The question of imperialism, of the change of the whole activities and sentiment of our government, is fundamental, and was therefore of right and of necessity in every properly adjusted mind, the paramount issue of the campaign. And, as before suggested, we do not accept as a valid excuse for faithlessness upon this paramount issue, the plea that under the present leadership, the party was in heresy upon an issue touching merely material conditions, and therefore essentially sordid. It is impossible that the loyal Democracy of 1900 can submit to the domination of these self-constituted guides, or commit to their hands the recasting of the issues of the future, or the reorganization of the party hosts. If these men, many of whom have been aptly designated as "political degenerates," grasp and assert

control of the party through its regularly constituted machinery, they will find they are without material following. The militant hosts of the party of Jefferson and Jackson and Bryan will rally for a further struggle, undismayed by past reverses, undaunted by present conditions; ready again to stake life and whatever of fortune they may possess, and honor itself, for the maintenance of the principles of true Democracy as they have been handed down to us from the fathers.

We will not lightly surrender the organization in which we have fought hitherto; but if that organization shall be perverted by the schemings of disloyal men, pretending to be Democrats, we will abandon party rather than principle, and fight our battle again for a cause, rather than an organization.

How will the late election affect policies?

Necessarily, under the Republican administration, certain policies must be pursued.

There must be an increase of the army for the purpose of completing the subjugation of the Philippines.

Already there has been suggested by the Republican party in Congress a scheme for the imperializing of trusts, by a constitutional amendment proposing to confer upon Congress the power to license and control these dangerous organizations. Under this scheme, should it be carried out, every trust that by any means secures from the national legislative, acting under such a constitutional amendment, a license to operate, secures a charter that places it beyond the reach of jurisdiction of the States and of State Courts, and that may exempt it, as the national banks are now exempted, from State taxation and from other local burdens; and thus the trusts will become imperial, in the fullest sense of the word.

In my judgment there is involved in the present attitude and tendencies of the Republican party necessarily an abandonment of the Monroe doctrine. How is it possible to maintain that doctrine, in view of our abandonment of the doctrines in its integrity of the right of self-government? We have hitherto stood upon this doctrine, and so standing have declared to the world our readiness to take up the wager of battle in behalf of any republic on this continent, exercising and claiming the right to administer its own affairs, as against any European power. But by what right can we further maintain this championship, when we have left our own continent to intrude upon foreign lands, and there to assert the right, by the exercise of brute force, to dominate foreign peoples without their consent, and in disregard of their desires? How can we, in the days that are to come, in view of our attitude in the Philippines; in view of our wresting from Spain her possessions in and upon a foreign continent, and under a pretended purchase of the right of sovereignty from her over those possessions, attempting their forcible subjugation, deny to any European power the right to wrest from any power on this continent its possessions, either through the arbitrament of war or under the device of purchase? In other words, how can we bar this hemisphere to foreign powers while we invade the other hemisphere for the acquisition of territory by force under a scheme of colonial expansion?

Incidentally I do not see how it can be hoped that the Hay-Pauncefote treaty with reference to the Nicaragua canal can now be defeated in the Senate. And with an isthmian canal built by our money, but which we are not privileged to defend, there is involved a complete abandonment of the position which this government has hitherto maintained with reference to this proposed interoceanic waterway.

In my belief the domination of the Republican party, under the influences that now shape its policies and control its activities, necessarily tends to the establishment of a monied oligarchy, that will control elections by purchase, and the electorate by the power of aggregated wealth. In this connection no lover of his country has a right for one moment to forget that history will be searched in vain for the instance of a republic that has over-lived the dominance of its plutocracy. I do not mean that at once the form of our re-

publican government will be subverted; but of what value is the form if the spirit thereof be lost or perverted? I do not mean that we may not for many years preserve the shadow of a democracy, of self-government and of liberty, but of what value are these if the substance, the vitality thereof be gone?

How will the late election affect issues?

The only dominant issue in American politics must be, until either the hope of freemen is realized or the voice of freemen is silenced in our land, the issue of a return in the administration of our government to the faith of the fathers. We have drifted far, very far, in these latter days, from the early land-marks. The colonial policy now being pursued is absolutely revolutionary. In proof of this, listen, not to my words, but to the words of the Supreme Court of the United States, that for half a century have been recognized as a clear and correct enunciation of the constitutional limitations upon the government in the matter of the acquisition of additional territory. That court speaks thus:

"This brings us to examine by what provision of the Constitution the present Federal Government, under its delegated and restricted powers, is authorized to acquire territory outside of the original limits of the United States, and what powers it may exercise therein over the person or property of a citizen of the United States, while it remains a territory, and until it shall be admitted as one of the States of the Union.

"There is certainly no power given by the Constitution to the Federal Government to establish or maintain colonies, bordering on the United States or at a distance, to be ruled and governed at its own pleasure; nor to enlarge its territorial limits in any way, except by the admission of new States. That power is plainly given. But no power is given to acquire territory to be held and governed permanently in that character. * * *

"The power to expand the territory of the United States by the admission of new States is plainly given; and in the construction of

this power by all the departments of the Government it has been held to authorize the acquisition of territory, not fit for admission at the time, but to be admitted as soon as its population and situation would entitle it to admission. It is acquired to become a State, and not to be held as a colony and governed by Congress with absolute authority."—*Scott vs. Sanford*, 19 Howard, 446-8.

But not only is this colonial policy, as now being pursued, violative of the Constitution as declared by the Supreme Court of the United States; it is also in utter disregard of the publicly plighted faith of our people. Let us not, in this connection, forget that to all the world we declared, before we took up the sword against Spain, that the people of Cuba were and of right ought to be free and independent; and in the undertaking of that war our Congress utterly disclaimed all thought of territorial aggrandizement. Let us not forget the splendid utterance of Mr. McKinley in his first annual message to Congress in December, 1897, quoted by him, and thus emphasized, in his special message in April, 1898, which was the immediate forerunner of the declaration of war against Spain. Let us not fail to emphasize his words—the words which plighted to all the world the faith of the republic as to our purposes in that war. These were his words:

"I speak not of forcible annexation. That is not to be thought of. For by our code of morals forcible annexation is criminal aggression."

Yet, again; no one in this audience will deny that for now nearly two years we have been carrying on war against the Filipinos. That war, we maintain, is being carried on in total violation of the Constitution of the United States. It was inaugurated solely by the order of President McKinley. But the Constitution of the United States provides that "the Congress shall have power to declare war." This is not a formal provision. How material it is, and of how great consequence it is that it should be faithfully observed, let us gather from the words of Abraham Lincoln as given in his letter of February 15, 1848, to W. H. Herndon, as found at page 282 of *Herndon's Life of Lincoln*. Mr. Lincoln then wrote:

"The provision of the Constitution giving the war-making power to Congress was dictated, as I understand it, by the following reasons: Kings had always been involving and impoverishing their people in wars, pretending generally, if not always, that the good of the people was the object. This our convention understood to be the most oppressive of all kingly oppressions, and they resolved to so frame the Constitution that no one man should hold the power of bringing this oppression upon us."

Yet one man has brought upon our people, through the initiation and prosecution of the war in the Philippines, these oppressions:

An expenditure that is already reckoned at more than two hundred millions of money; a loss of life among our soldiers that has already reached an aggregate of over 3,000 men, while half a thousand other of our soldiers have been driven mad by the things which they have seen and have suffered in those far islands. Also there has been brought upon us the moral responsibility for the loss of tens of thousands of Filipinos, men, women and little children, our friends when the war against Spain was declared, our bitter enemies now, who have died in the belief on their part that they were guarding from profanation the altars of liberty in their native land, and were dying that there might be preserved to their people the sacred and unalienable right of self-government.

The attitude of the Democracy of to-day and of the future is earnestly to sound in the ears of the people "the recall;" to call back the hosts to the service of liberty, the preservation of the republic, the uplifting of the standard of freedom again for all of the world. To call back the allegiance and loyalty of our own people to the traditions of the fathers, the truths of the Declaration of Independence. Until this issue is fought to its finish, there will be practically no other issue before our people.

In this mission, in this struggle, we gain inspiration from the great first President of the Republican party. No utterances found in our language more cogently present the issue, appeal for faithfulness to the first principles of the republic, or incite to devotion to the imperiled cause, than his words. Let me call your attention to some

of them, and utter them in your ears hoping that they may ring through your souls as did the trumpet call from Sinai through the hearts of the faithful of Israel, calling you up toward the mountain top, where God is, where loyalty to divine truth is the most perfect and constraining principle of life, where faithfulness to duty is the highest freedom.

Said Mr. Lincoln in his speech at Beardstown, Illinois, August 12, 1858 (as reported in Herndon's *Life of Lincoln* at page 415)—speaking of the fathers of the republic:

"Wise statesmen as they were, they knew the tendency of prosperity to breed tyrants, and so they established these great self-evident truths, that when, in the distant future, some man, some faction, some interest, should set up the doctrine that none but rich men, none but white men, or none but Anglo-Saxon white men, were entitled to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up again to the Declaration of Independence and take courage to renew the battle which their fathers began, so that truth and justice and mercy, and all the humane and Christian virtues, might not be extinguished from the land; so that no man would hereafter dare to limit and circumscribe the great principles on which the temple of liberty was being built.

"Now, my countrymen, if you have been taught doctrines conflicting with the great landmarks of the Declaration of Independence; if you have listened to suggestions which would take away from its grandeur and mutilate the fair symmetry of its proportions; if you have been inclined to believe that all men are not created equal in those inalienable rights enumerated by our chart of liberty; let me entreat you to come back. Return to the fountain whose waters spring close by the blood of the Revolution."

Again this great seer and prophet among the people, speaking at Springfield on the 1st of October, 1854, used these words:

"No man is good enough to govern another man without that other's consent. When the white man governs himself that is self-government; but when he governs himself and also another man, that is more than self-government—that is despotism. Our reliance is in the love of liberty which God has planted in us; our defense is in the spirit which prizes liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands, everywhere. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it."

Do you say these were the immature views of this man, this leader among men? In his letter of April 6, 1859, to a committee of Boston Republicans, inviting him to attend a celebration of Jefferson's birthday, he wrote:

"The principles of Jefferson are the definitions and axioms of free society. And yet they are denied and evaded with no small show of success. One dashinglly calls them 'glittering generalities.' Another plainly calls them 'self-evident lies.' And others insidiously argue that they apply to 'superior races.' These expressions, differing in form, are identical in object and effect—the supplanting the principles of free government, and restoring those of classification, caste and legitimacy. They would delight a convocation of crowned heads plotting against the people. They are the vanguard, the miners and sappers of returning despotism. We must repulse them or they will subjugate us. This is a world of compensation and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves, and under a just God cannot long retain it."

With such words as these the Democracy of 1900, undismayed by political reverses, unafraid of the presence of a vaunting enemy; loyal to the first principles of the republic, and the teachings of the fathers, are ready to take up the wager of battle, and to carry forward the conflict upon the one issue which the election of 1900 has forced to the front in the dawn of the new century. It is the old issue, self-government, the right of individual liberty, as against government by classes, government by the few, government over the masses. We stand at the threshold of the new century and march toward its opening gates, pledged irrevocably to the proposition "that government of the people, by the people and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

THE CHAIRMAN: It is one of the interesting things that we experience so often in this world that the old saying holds true that a man convinced against his will is of the same opinion still, and it is refreshing to have an opinion expressed so ably and earnestly as has just been done. There is this anomalous thing about the meeting to-night: Your chairman needed an introduction; your speakers do not. There are some here who voted for the next speaker and helped elect him, and they of course know him; there are some who voted against him, but to all of us it will be a pleasure to listen to the next speaker, Judge Charles S. Cutting.

JUDGE CHAS. S. CUTTING: I feel like congratulating you upon a number of things to-night, the first of which is that you have listened to so able a presentation of the Democratic idea on the subjects which will be the issues in time to come. There can be no better presentation of them than you have heard. I want to congratulate you further upon the fact that you are citizens of this great republic; that you have learned the first principles of self-government; that after all the troubles and trials, after all the fire and fury of a political campaign as heated as this has been in its later hours, like true citizens of the great republic, capable of self-restraint and self-government, there is nowhere any thought of protest, even against the verdict which the people of the United States have rendered upon the questions that were presented them. This great republic, whatever dangers may assail it, is still the marvel of the world in that it is possible within its borders to indulge in fiery political contests, and then quietly and without a ripple drop back, as it were, into the old channels, and let things flow on as they flowed before. If we all believed that there was the danger before us that our friends on the other side so vehemently assert and so eloquently tell us of, we should scarcely be floating down the stream of time to-day in the belief that the old government which has been regularly assailed by all the terrors of dissolution once in four years since it was organized, would still go on. We believe in this American government of ours. We believe in the ability of this people to govern itself. We have tried it again and again, and we do not believe that we have found any issue upon which the people are not at least sufficiently right to perpetuate our institutions.

What has been the effect of the election on parties? I have no doubt as to what the effect on parties will be. All parties that have ever existed in our history have been defeated, and many times they have risen triumphant from defeat; and I am glad that it is so. There is a chastening power in defeat—and I say this for the benefit of our friends upon the other side—that frequently makes the party which has gone down in disaster better, higher, purer in all of its attributes than it ever was before. And we have faith that it will be so now. On the other hand what is the effect of success upon parties at times? I think it may even be said that every party when successful contains within itself the germ of its own disaster; that dissolution eventually follows success, or at least such a period of depression as shall chasten and refine the party; because success brings with it many things that are not conducive to the highest ideals. That is a general statement that applies to every party, I believe, and will apply to the Republican party, returned again to power. And I want to call your attention to the fact that that is an unusual condition of things, unless we were engaged in some general war; but a very few times in the history of this republic has any President been re-elected unless there was some overwhelming issue like the rebellion, or something of equally great character or substantially great moment to fix the people upon some definite and continued line of ideas. Therefore there must have been something strange, peculiar, unusual, in the campaign which has just passed. I think we may say, then, that the parties will remain as they are; that there will be a Republican party goes without saying, for the successful party does not dissolve until there is at least another election.

On the other hand, we can see already the beginning of the dissolution of that which has gone by the name of the Democratic party through the last campaign. I say that without attempting to say anything which is distasteful to any person who is a member of that party, but Democracy has meant in this campaign an aggregation of all those elements—no matter for what reason—which were dissatisfied with the dominant party, and as you know, as you have seen, and as you will see this evening, there are many elements, incongruous, if you please, which have associated themselves together for the purpose of opposition and which never could have held together one moment in success. Therefore we may expect in the Democratic party a division into factions. It is inconceivable to me that individuals who have such diverse ideas as those which are rep-

resented by the extreme free silver element, those which are represented by the gold standard element, those which believe as many of those do who supported Mr. Bryan, in a currency scheme which is even more radical than the silver element, namely the issuing of irredeemable bills by the government of the United States, can ever come together on any platform, which will be broad enough to hold them again. The reason for that is that having buried every difference in order to make this campaign, each of them points to the other and says, "Your policy if carried out would again lead to disaster." Those who have surrendered their ideas on the currency question—which is vital in my opinion, and in the opinion generally of Republicans to the welfare of this country at this time—those people who surrendered that idea in order that they might follow opposition to that doctrine which has been called imperialism, are not again likely to sink their personal differences and ideas in order that they may oppose something which has not taken hold of the common people. Therefore I predict faction in the opposition. Therefore, I say to you that the Populistic idea which has joined with all these others is very likely to form for itself a political organism which shall not unite with any other, but will place before the people its own candidate for its own purposes.

So much for the parties. But why do we indulge in prophecy? No man—I don't care what his ideas may be, how logical he may be, how well he can understand conditions, can so group conditions that he can foretell events in this day and generation of ours. If any man four years ago, when President McKinley first received his warrant to act as chief magistrate of this nation; if any man on that day had said, "Within this administration there will be fought a war with a European power; that European power will be upon its knees begging for peace; that peace will be granted on terms; those terms will be the cession of all sovereignty in Cuba, in Porto Rico, and the Philippines, and this United States shall be face to face with a problem of colonialism, which it never had before," you would have said that that man was an escaped lunatic, or something of that nature. You would not have believed that it was possible. And yet those things came to us within the time of an administration that was elected on none of those issues. So now, although we have elected that President again and a new term for an old administration will soon begin, yet who can say what the issues of the next four years will be? Who remembers the tariff issue in this day and

generation? It is as dead as Julius Caesar. And the time is not far distant when the tariff will cease to be a possibility as an issue in this country, with the growing power of our manufacturing industries. The day has come already when the American on the other side of the Atlantic travels in American-made cars, drawn by American locomotives; finds people walking in American-made shoes, and goes up in his hotel to the fifth or eighth story in an American-made elevator, right in the manufacturing heart of England. That being so, the tariff will soon cease to have any effect on our manufacturing industries. What then? I simply give you that as an illustration of how an issue is wiped out by events. I predict that the question of currency and its stability in this country is fixed to-day. I don't believe we can ever have a campaign based upon it again. But who can say what the issues will be if, as my friend Captain Black suggests, the Bryan democracy proposes to go on as it has gone in the past. I have no doubt that Mr. Bryan, if still the leader of the Democratic party, honest as he is in his beliefs on that subject, and all the more dangerous because of that honesty, in my humble opinion, will still insist that the one idea which made William J. Bryan a political entity in this country shall be the dominant plank in any platform which his friends may construct. If that be true, if that idea shall prevail in the opposition, then again this issue will have to be fought.

What next? What is the issue? What is the thing that they tell us we have got to fight again? The question of imperialism. I don't join issue on the question of imperialism. I assert that there is no such thing in this country. You can't make an issue unless somebody takes the affirmative of that issue, and although it will be asserted that the Republican party has taken the affirmative by its acts, I deny that, and this campaign has been fought upon that position as taken by the Republican party. If you can find anybody in this broad land who believes in imperialism or anything akin to imperialism, or that which will eventually become imperialism I will agree to get that man a position in a museum at a thousand dollars a week without any difficulty whatever. There is no such idea abroad and our friends, with all possible respect to their opinions—for they have just the same right to them as I have to mine—are conjuring up a bogie-man which does not exist, against which they can launch the lightning of their eloquence. Is it that we have colonies that are dependent upon us at this time? Yes, we have, and we

have a problem to work out in them, the like of which we never had before; but like all the other problems that have come to us, like all the other questions that have been presented to us for solution, like all the other unconstitutional things that we have been doing—for I want to call your attention to the fact that we have been violating the constitution, every party that ever existed in this country has been violating the constitution, if you believe their opponents, from the day of its adoption, and that much abused document is still in existence, and to it I take off the hat of my reverence yet.

What then? We have that problem before us, and we have the most splendid opportunity to test the working of that policy that a government ever had. We can have almost any phase of it that you please. We have Porto Rico. A voluntary colony, if you please; one which fell into our lap by the consent of the governed in the fullest sense of that term; one which has never objected to American rule; one which is with us by grace of the people's own desire, apparently, as near as you can get at what that desire is or was at the time of the American occupation. At least, you are not hearing any objections from the Porto Ricans. There is an administrative problem which can be carried out to its fullest extent, and if it is not carried out in sixty days, Ladies and Gentlemen, or ninety days or ninety weeks or months, do not be discouraged. Failure does not result from that. It is a great problem, and it takes time to work it out, but it will be solved; it will be solved constitutionally; it will be solved in the light of liberty; it will be solved in the light of self government, and in the light of all the traditions which have made the American government great in the eyes of men.

What next? We have Cuba on our hands. Cuba was the cause of a war, and before we went into it, we made a solemn pledge, which has been kept to the letter, that Cuba should eventually have self government, and we are taking step by step the road which leads to that thing with regard to Cuba. Let us see what the outcome of that experiment will be. Will Cuba, when she undertakes to govern herself, go the road that every Spanish-American government has gone? Will it result in domestic difficulty? Will revolution follow revolution, in a way that the Anglo Saxon knows not of? Shall we have in the island of Cuba a repetition of the experience of the United States of Colombia, and of Ecuador, and of Peru, and of the other

Spanish-American republics? If so, again the United States may have to intervene; just as she interfered to stop the atrocities which Spain had brought upon those people, so she may have to save those people from themselves. Nobody can tell. Let us hope she will not; but all experience in history brings it to our fears that in all human probability their experiment in self government, with a race like theirs, with conditions such as surround them, will be for years a failure.

Let us see what next. We have another colony, different from the other two, the Philippines; a colony which came to us by virtue of the same treaty which brought us the others. A colony for which we paid twenty million dollars; a colony which came by virtue of a treaty which was ratified, not by Republicans alone, not by Democrats alone, but by both acting together, and both knew when that treaty was ratified that instantly that treaty became the supreme law of the land, that it was the duty of the President of the United States to maintain American sovereignty over that island or those islands just as much as it was a duty to maintain it in New Mexico or in Arizona, or in any outlying territory which we possess. That being the case, why talk of a war with somebody, and of the President declaring war against someone? He did nothing of the sort. That was American territory, and the only war that can be declared upon territory belonging to the United States is a war which is directed against that sovereignty; and the sovereignty of the American flag is always protected by the American President, wherever that may be. Now, while we are going to keep those colonies, what form of government will be given to them, what will be done with them I don't know. I don't believe that our friends, the enemy, prophets though they be, undismayed by former political prophecies which invariably came untrue in their fruition, know what is the best thing to do with those colonies. But I confess, and I believe I voice the sentiment of the Republican party when I say it, we do not now know, but we are not afraid to meet the conditions as they arise. I know only this thing in relation to the Philippines, and that is, until Congress, until the supreme power of this government shall have said that the President shall not maintain order, enforce the law and respect for the flag in that territory, which under international law is American, until that is done, we shall maintain it even at the cost of the lives of our own men, or of those who see fit to oppose that sovereignty. When the time comes when we know the conditions, we shall meet

them, and we will not pledge ourselves to a cut and dried policy which may be changed in fifteen minutes by a change of conditions. So much for that.

What about these issues? I have been really talking to you about that. I pride myself, ladies and gentlemen, upon having good terminal facilities, and not overstepping my time. I do not wish to do that by any possible combination of circumstances after the warning of your chairman, but I want to say to you that I have not any sort of doubt about the future. I may be optimistic. I glory in it. I would rather be one optimist than a hundred pessimists. I believe that our future is just as grand as it ever was. I believe with implicit faith in the power of this great Anglo Saxon nation to work out its destiny along the lines of the fathers. I am not alarmed at the declarations of the Supreme Court which have been read here, which are an excerpt from the Dred Scott decision. You remember that decision, in which it was stated that the black man had no rights which the white man was bound to respect, or words to that effect. That is the paraphrase of it, although not the exact language. I wonder that the Captain did not read that part of the decision when he quoted from the rest of it. But whatever that may be, and however you may look at that thing, you must remember that the Declaration of Independence has taken on a wider, a higher, a better significance in later years than it had when it was adopted by the fathers. Did you ever think that the man who wrote it was the owner of human slaves, and do you believe that the men who have pointed to it as the greatest chart of liberty that the world has ever known would think the holding of slaves consistent with those magnificent declarations? Never. That is the modern interpretation of it, and I glory in it. There are no slaves in the colonies of the United States, or if there are, there will be none when American power is asserted over them. They will be given absolute self government if they wish it. There is no sort of question about that proposition. And when you come to talk about the inherent right of every man to self government you are stating a proposition concerning which you can cite concrete instances by the dozen where it is simply impossible. If you had told that thing to the pioneers of the west, the Pottawotomies would have been sitting here on this spot, and you would not have been here to-night. You know those things are true, and yet as a general proposition we glory in that statement and believe in the truths of the Declaration of Independence, and no party,

Republican, Democratic or anything else, is going to violate them. I say the future is just as sure as it ever was. The people will decide these questions right. We are going on to a greater, a more magnificent future than any country ever had before it. Success is ours. We have proved by the centuries that we know what local self government and what general self government mean, and when we have proven that and demonstrated our power as sovereign citizens, we have done exactly what the fathers said that we should do.

Ladies and gentlemen, I congratulate you after the smoke of battle has been blown away, that there is so little rancor left, that there is no resentment in the heart of any man, and that all of us without regard to party, Americans every one, believe thoroughly in the future of our great country, and that its success along the lines of freedom and liberty and prosperity was never so sure as it is now in this year of grace nineteen hundred. I thank you.

THE CHAIRMAN: Early in this evening I uttered a sentiment to the effect that it is surprising to see how quickly the interest in an election passes away after an election once is over. It is surprising to me to see how much interest we can still have in the sequence of it, as we are feeling to-night, especially when our speakers all take as independent a stand as they are now taking, which makes us feel as if we were playing a game of chess and one player was saying very definitely, "In six moves you will be check-mated." Now it will be interesting to see how a person who may be looked upon as playing the opposite side of the game can prophesy as to what will happen after six more moves. We now have the pleasure of listening to Mr. Charles R. Whitman, who represents the Gold Democrats.

MR. CHARLES R. WHITMAN: We have fought a political battle and it has decided nothing. To be conclusive upon issues the combatants must be arrayed for or against those issues. In this contest, unfortunately, the opponents of McKinleyism and of imperialism were not arrayed against the Republican ticket. The result, therefore, cannot demonstrate the sentiment of the people upon those

issues. We remember well that after Mr. McKinley had sent his message to the House stating it was the plain duty of this country to give free trade between Porto Rico and the United States, that when the measure was pending in Congress to impose a tax of fifteen per cent of the Dingley rates upon that trade, and the President with all the weight of his great office was helping to pass that measure, we all remember how the Republican Times-Herald and the Chicago Tribune and the leading Republican press of the country, joined in denunciation of that tax as a breach of faith and a shameless violation of our duty to the natives of Porto Rico. Can it be contended that, because the Times-Herald and the Chicago Tribune and the other papers which denounced that measure advocated the election of William McKinley, they have thereby endorsed the imposition of that tax on the Porto Ricans? Does the result of the election vindicate the administration on that issue? Oh no, whether justifiably or not, many, many good, staunch Republicans who loathe imperialism—and with your leave I will have a word to say later as to whether there is such a thing or not—who distrust McKinley, voted for him because they feared, they feared; thousands and tens of thousands of Democrats who loathe McKinleyism and imperialism voted for William McKinley because they feared and they feared. Thus it was that against this evil, an evil that is no mere “bogie,” no mere hobgoblin, but a living devil which, grim and terrible, threatens the life of the republic of the fathers, hosts of voters who saw it and recognized it failed to enlist where inclination and duty should have led them. They feared that Mr. Bryan’s election meant free silver, that it meant financial disaster, and they felt this would be a greater evil than the other, and because they feared they dared not vote for him. And so I say, the election has settled no issues, though Bryan is defeated and McKinley is elected. The battle is still on, and will grow more serious, more deadly still, because, drunken with success, this administration will go on, if the influences which have controlled it continue to prevail, from McKinleyism to Hannaism, from the servant to the master. Already we hear it said that Mark Hanna is to be the next Presidential candidate of the Republican party. From President, *de facto*, he is to be President, *de jure*, unless the people, the common people, shall then prevail.

My brother Cutting predicts that the Democratic party will dissolve. I have been a Democrat all my life, and I shall continue one till I die. If my boys fail to remain Democrats—well, they are

not chips of the old block! Why, the Democracy—how aptly named; demos, the people, krátein, to rule—gave birth to the republic. The last words of the retiring Continental Congress to the incoming government were, "Let it never be forgotten that the rights for which America has contended are the rights of human nature." That is the principle for which Democracy contends. The distinctive principles of the Democratic party are strict construction of the Constitution with respect to the powers delegated to the general government, and the least possible interference of government with individual and local liberty of action. We hold that this is a government of the people for the benefit of the whole people, and that the law may not be employed to enable one to obtain an unjust advantage over his fellow. Equal rights to all, special privileges to none. We deny that government is created for the purpose of adding to the wealth of any man. Tariff for revenue only; tariff for such revenue as the government shall require to meet its necessary expenses, economically administered. Not one cent of tax of any description to add to the wealth of any man, on any theory. That is Democracy. Will it ever die? Not while this republic lives.

What are the distinctive principles, to-day, of the Republican party? Are there any which should give it life? It was born in 1854, in opposition to the extension of slave territory. With the Emancipation Proclamation, its mission was performed. Prophetic, indeed, were those words of Abraham Lincoln, uttered to the Missouri and Kansas delegations in 1865, the triumph of the Union being then assured, when he said: "It has been a trying hour for the Republic, but I see in the future a crisis arising which unnerves me and causes me to tremble for the safety of my country. As a result of the war, corporations have been enthroned, and an era of corruption in high places will follow; and then the money power of the country will prolong its reign by working upon the prejudices of the people, until all wealth is aggregated in a few hands, and the Republic may be destroyed. I feel at this time more anxiety for the safety of my country than ever before, even in the midst of the war. God grant that my fears may prove groundless."

Is it any wonder, I say, that the money power, even then enthroned, has remained enthroned until this day, growing in power, greedily absorbing every factor of wealth, and even, through its em-

ployes, making the ballot-box its slave? Mr. Justice Brown, of the United States Supreme Court, on May 11, 1898, in the course of an address on Chief Justice Marshall before the Richmond (Va.) Bar Association, said: "The ghost of monopoly has risen from its grave and stalks abroad, defiant of the law, in the shape of combinations and trusts. The necessities of life are gradually being absorbed by them, and the time is not far distant when everything we eat, drink, and wear may have to be purchased through the agency of a single corporation controlling the product. When this is accomplished the freedom of the individual is at an end. Combinations already have destroyed individual enterprise in the most important branches of trade, and the small producer has already gone to the wall."

There may be no adequate relief from these conditions; but, if there is, where shall we find it—through Mark Hanna, the greatest political representative of the aggregated wealth of the country, or through the Democratic party? Give to us in 1904, on a platform of pure Democracy, a man who will command the confidence of the people, such a leader as smashed the Tweed ring in New York, and we will win as we won for civil service reform in '76, for honest government in '84, and for tariff reform in '92!

In this campaign the Republicans have steadily contended that free coinage of silver was the leading, the paramount issue; that no other could be considered. They have developed a sudden and rather uncertain allegiance for the gold standard. Well, all the silver coinage legislation this country has ever had the Republican party has given to it, all of it. In the platform of 1896 it declared: "We are, therefore, opposed to the free coinage of silver except by international agreement with the leading nations of the world, which we pledge ourselves to promote."

The Chicago convention simply saw that and went one better, and Mr. Bryan was right in his contention that if the free coinage of silver by international agreement was a good thing, it was a good thing anyway, without the consent of any other nation. And so the Chicago platform declared. The one platform straddled, the other did not. Mr. McKinley had to thank the Gold Democrats for his election. What did he give them? On July 7th, 1897, it was reported from

Washington that Mr. McKinley had prepared a message recommending legislation providing for a monetary commission, which he proposed to send to Congress. It did not go in. On the 19th day of July, 1898, the Dingley tariff measure passed. Still the message did not go in. The New York Tribune at that time, referring to the omission of Mr. McKinley to send that message in, stated, "It is known that the Republican managers in the Senate agreed three weeks ago not to pass any measure providing for a currency commission at the present session. The promise was made at a time when the fate of the tariff bill was by no means certain, and when it was in the power of the opposition at least to delay action on that measure indefinitely. The agreement provided that there should be no effort on the part of the opponents of the tariff bill to delay action unnecessarily, and that the Republicans should not urge the currency-commission scheme at the present session, even if the President should send in a message recommending such a commission."

And the Tribune's comment on the whole disgraceful intrigue was that even if it had been sent, it would not have amounted to anything, as it was intended only as "a soothing dose for inflamed nerves." But I can remember that the nerves of the Republican press throughout the country were exceedingly inflamed at the time they were soliciting the votes of Gold Democrats, and the statement that the President had merely talked of sending in a message to soothe the inflamed nerves of the Gold Democrats was showing but little respect to the men who had secured his election. On the last day of the special session the President sent in a message, well knowing that was too late to secure legislation. And it was not until March, 1900, that any "soothing dose for inflamed nerves" was administered to the Gold Democrats, that any bill touching the gold standard was passed by Congress; and it doesn't seem to amount to much, now that we have it.

My friend, Judge Cutting, avers that there is no such issue as imperialism; that there is neither affirmative nor negative to the proposition. I don't intend to burden you here to any extent, but I want to present two authorities on that question. The first will be Senator Depew, whose statement should be accepted as of weight in Republican circles. On May 22nd, 1898, there appeared in the Chicago Times-Herald an interview in which, among other things,

the Senator said: "If we should keep the Philippine Islands we would reverse the traditions of this government from its foundation. We would open up a new line of policy. Let us see what that would mean. In the first place it would mean the establishment of a military government over possibly 10,000,000 of people, 6,000 miles away from us; it would mean the increase of our navy to the proportion of the navies of Europe. * * *

"What else does a world-wide policy mean to us? It means a centralization which would change materially the relations of the United States to the federal government. The control of these popular colonies would be centered at Washington, and we should have a centralization of power far beyond what the old federalists ever dreamed of. You cannot have empire without all its attributes, and that means a practical revolution of our form of government and an abandonment of the beliefs which the fathers held when they established this government in 1776."

Is there no such thing as imperialism? "You cannot have empire without all its attributes." Why does Depew talk of "empire?" There can be no doubt about the Republicanism, as there can be no doubt about the high legal standing of Mr. Justice David J. Brewer, of the Supreme Court of the United States. Mr. Justice Brewer has expressed himself on this subject. I do not, of course, propose to present to you Democratic authorities. This is Republican authority. Mr. Justice Brewer, in an address before the Liberal Club of Buffalo, more than a year and a half ago, said, among other things: "It is said that the Anglo-Saxon race has manifested a capacity to govern well; that we are of that race, and that, therefore, we could well govern the Philippine Islands as colonies. I do not question the capacity of the race well and wisely to govern others. I object to the Philippine policy because it antagonizes the principles upon which this government was founded, which have controlled its life up to the present time, and the perfection of which has been the hope and aspiration of every true American. * * *

"Government by consent and government by force, no matter how well the government may be administered, are two essentially antagonistic principles. Doubtless no immediate conflict will follow.

We may see a large measure of prosperity; but are we not sowing the seeds which in the days to come will grow up into a harvest of trouble for our children and our children's children?

"A necessity of colonial possessions is an increase in our regular army, and the first increase proposed is from 30,000 to 100,000 men. It is a strange commentary that at the close of the nineteenth century the head of the most arbitrary government in the civilized world, the Czar of the Russias, is inviting the nations of the world to a decrease in their arms, while this, the freest land, is proposing an increase in it's. Yet such seems to be the imperative need, if we enter upon the system of colonial expansion."

Now I don't care whether this is called "imperialism" or "colonial expansion." It is something which means the forcible acquisition of the Philippine Islands by the subjugation of their inhabitants, and that is what Justice Brewer is talking about; and whether we call it by one name or another, it is an evil, a wrong to them and a wrong to ourselves, and it is against that evil that I stand here to-night, and it is against that evil that the thinking people of America will be arrayed in the next campaign as the great issue of that campaign.

Now Justice Brewer further said: "But there is money in it. And, after all, that is really the most potent factor in the proposed reaching out after the Islands of the Orient. * * * What a picture this is! The eagle of liberty standing like a buzzard to grow fat over an expected corpse.

" 'Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
Where wealth accumulates and men decay.' "

"The Caesars saw the spears of their victorious legions flash in the sunlight of every known land, and in their triumphant return they brought with them the accumulated wealth of all the nations they had subdued. The splendor of imperial Rome outshone the world, but the wealth thus obtained without value given undermined

the empire, and the glory of Rome is simply a memory. Napoleon beheld the shining star of destiny; and then? Does human nature change through the centuries? We stand to-day facing the temptation which comes from the possibility of rapidly accumulated wealth. What right have we to anticipate that the same result will not follow if we pursue the same course of taking what we have not fully earned? * * *

"This is no trifling question and is not answered by any gush about duty and destiny—in fact, all this talk about destiny is wearisome. We make our own destiny. We are not the victims but the masters of fate, and to attempt to unload upon the Almighty responsibility for that which we choose to do is not only an insult to Him, but to ordinary human intelligence.

"We are told we have become so great and powerful that the world needs us, but what the world most needs is not the touch of our power, but the blessing of our example. It needs the bright example of a free people not disturbed by any illusions of territorial acquisition, of pecuniary gain or military glory, but content with their possessions and striving through all the abilities, activities and industries of their wisest and most earnest to make the life of each individual citizen happier, better and more content."

These are good words—strong, brave and true. They lead us to hope that Mr. Justice Brewer's legal judgment will be as sound as his conscience, and that when he and his associates get an opportunity to pass on these questions, they will stand in favor of, and not against, human rights; that they will hold we can control no people to whom the civil rights guaranteed by the Constitution are denied; that forcible annexation is criminal aggression and that we have no right, under the Constitution, to hold subject States. Then will follow a speedy solution of imperialism. As rats desert a sinking ship, as people shun the plague or a colony of lepers, this charitable, God-serving administration will find a way to give over the benighted Philipinos to cut one another's throats or to engage in any similar pastime they may desire. It will seem a pity to Senator Beveridge and his ilk to abandon the valuable timber, the mahogany, in the Philippine Islands and the store of minerals, the gold and silver, in

their mountains. It will soften the blow to our Christian spirit to realize that McKinley knew of them before he discovered that Providence had thrust the islands upon us. It will soften the blow to our commercial spirit to know that only individuals, or companies organized to exploit the islands, could possibly obtain any advantage from that timber or those mineral deposits; that no constitutional way exists by which the gold in the Philippines, any more than the gold in Colorado, can be obtained, without consideration, by the citizens of this republic, or pass, without consideration, into our treasury; and that after eliminating from calculation the liquors which are being consumed by our soldiers in the Philippine Islands, the importations there from this side of the water give little promise of profit to the manufacturers or the merchants of the United States.

Whether or not the Supreme Court shall remove from us the issue of imperialism, there remain abundant issues to engage the patriotic interest of the voter. There is the infamous ship-subsidy bill which Hanna is seeking to impose upon the country. Upon the Democracy rests the duty to reclaim the government from the hands of the capitalists who are bent upon controlling legislation in aid of their particular interests. The abandonment of the colonial policy will check the enlargement of the navy and reduce our army to something near the old standard, and taxation must be readjusted, under Democratic principles, to these conditions. The enormous increase in the number of combines and trusts demands radical treatment. Civil-service reform is as vital to-day as it was in '76. McKinley has made of the law a burlesque, a hollow sham. Countless are the issues of the immediate future which press for solution. The great Democracy may err at times but it is sound at heart. To that as an organization, the independent voter must look for relief. Its battle-cries are maxims of political integrity; its principles are the bed-rock of constitutional liberty. Minor differences will disappear. Cemented with a common and a holy purpose, the gathering hosts shall be invincible, and you and I, Captain Black, will stand together, side by side, in the mustering ranks.

Adjourned.

JOSEPH W. HINER, Secretary.

ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTH MEETING

DECEMBER 13, 1900

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY PRESENT

SUBJECT:

The Crisis in China. What Should Be the Policy of the Christian World Concerning It?

CHAIRMAN: MR. FRANK J. LOESCH

ADDRESSES BY

MR. M. M. MANGASARIAN

REV. JOHN HENRY HOPKINS

GENERAL DISCUSSION BY

MR. ALLEYNE IRELAND

DR. GEORGE B. SMYTHE

DR. GEE WO CHAN

MR. LUIS JACKSON

MR. EUGENE B. CUSHING

MR. JOSEPH B. DAVID



ONE HUNDRED AND SIXTH MEETING.

Held at the Palmer House, Thursday, December 13, 1900.

One hundred and twenty present.

The Crisis in China. What Should Be the Policy of the Christian World Concerning It?

THE SECRETARY: Since the announcement of the subject for this evening, the Chinese Minister to the United States has stated in a public speech that the Christian world is rapidly coming to the doctrines of Confucius. If we had known that when we announced the subject we should perhaps have thought it hardly worth while to try to find out what we shall do with China, but would have endeavored to ascertain what China is going to do with us. The public schools and school teachers are an important factor in every community. In Chicago, school teachers of late have been enlarging their usefulness. Not content with teaching the young idea how to shoot, they have been attempting to teach the State Board of Equalization how to assess the property of corporations. Evidently our teachers are a self-reliant, energetic and aggressive class, and it is also evident that anybody who can govern school teachers can properly govern the Sunset Club. Our brother Mr. Frank J. Loesch as a member of the Board of Education of the City of Chicago devotes a good deal of his time to governing school teachers, and will be equally successful in governing the Sunset Club, I am sure. He will now have an opportunity to demonstrate that fact to you.

MR. FRANK J. LOESCH: If you knew what a failure I was in governing the school teachers, you would not take in earnest what

Brother Hiner has just told you. Any man who undertakes to govern one woman knows what a job he has on hand, to say nothing of five thousand, and I gave up that job very soon. When I went on the Board of Education I had my theories of running women, but I gave up that idea in short order. I came here this evening to speak to you at great length, because I supposed there would be nobody who would know so much about the subject as I did, but when I found there were gentlemen who had been in China and who had studied the Chinese, I decided to devote myself to the duties of Chairman strictly, and not expose my ignorance. Therefore I will limit myself to announcing the speakers. The first speaker of the evening will be our distinguished fellow citizen Mr. Mangasarian.

MR. M. M. MANGASARIAN: The attitude of the Christian world toward the Chinese people in the hour of crises is indicated, one would suppose, by the golden rule enunciated by the Lord of Christendom. We must treat the Chinaman as we would have the Chinaman treat us. A Frenchman not very long ago asked what were the rights of foreigners in France. The answer was that they were the same rights that a Frenchman expected to receive in a foreign country. The rights of an American in China should be the same as those of a Chinaman in America. But it seems to me that in the nineteenth century we are not quite prepared to live up to the golden rule. We have a rule of our own, and perhaps David Harum has expressed that rule: "Do unto others as others would like to do unto you—and do it first." Since there is a difference of opinion as to how we should treat the Chinaman, I will try to discuss that question with you this evening. In the first place we must state the position of our antagonist as clearly as we can. We will not try to put him in a false light in order to steal a march upon him. Having stated his position strongly and fairly, we shall go for him. Let the exchange of blows be hot and heavy. Let there be no sparing of whatever is sickly and mushy and marrowless and inane and conventional; let us be fearless in using the cold, clear, naked blade of reason. In other words, we must try and be honest with an opponent who wants to be honest to us.

I am one of those who believe in the greatness and usefulness of the Christian religion. I think that it is one of the greatest religions in the world. One of them, however. I believe that Christianity has been one of the leading factors in the civilization of the world, but only one of the many factors. And I believe that if the Chinese could become a Christian people, they would from my point of view—and that certainly is a limited one—be better off. But having said that, if the Chinaman should say to me, "You don't know what you are talking about; your religion is not fitted to our needs; we are not yet prepared for it," I should

listen to him and I should conclude that on the whole he knew what he was talking about. My antagonist, however, be it Mr. Hopkins or some other clergyman, takes the position that we must insist on his being a convert to Christianity. If we can't convert him we must convert his wife; if we can't convert his wife, then his children; if he turns us out of the door, we must go in through the window; we must pursue him till we have converted him. I take issue with that position; first, on the ground that it is not good manners, that it violates what we call good taste, and a missionary even cannot afford to be anything else but a gentleman; and a gentleman must have in his conduct what we call a certain sweet reasonableness. If the Chinaman is not going to become a Christian we should let him alone.

Now in the next place, the church position will be defended by the argument that this is not a matter of manners or good taste; that it is our duty to convert the Chinaman; that the Lord of the church has commanded His disciples to go into all the world and preach the Gospel unto every creature. That is very true. But let us see if we are really living up to that divine commandment. He certainly did not say that we should go into China, for instance, and force our religion upon them, rub it into them, jab it into them at the point of a bayonet, or force it upon them with smokeless powder by the help of a gunboat. And if it is said that the missionaries are certainly not doing that, that they are simply preaching the Gospel, I shall have to remind them that it is impossible for our missionaries to remain in China or in any heathen country unless we compel the governments of those countries to receive our missionaries. In other words, where there is a missionary to-day, he is there by the force of our government; he is there because we have bullied the people into receiving him. That is why we have no missionaries in Russia. We can't bully Russia into receiving our missionaries. That is why Turkey permits our missionaries in Turkey; not because it is fond of them, not because the Turks are being converted by them, but Turkey is helpless; the Turk is afraid; he has a knife at his throat, and he cannot send our missionaries away without seeing our gunboats on the Bosphorous. And that is why our missionaries are in China.

I know something about the missionaries in Turkey, for I have lived there for many years, and therefore I speak from knowledge when I say that during the eighty years that the missionaries have preached the Gospel, though backed by this great nation—for the moment the pressure is lifted I am sure the Sultan would pack the missionaries home—during that eighty years, not eight Mohammedans have been converted. What are they doing there? They are converting the Christian Armenians, which is the high church Episcopalian belief, into the Congregational and Presbyterian churches. So you see that the argument that there is no force used in preaching

the Gospel is true in churches only. Erzroom is on the borders of Turkey and Russia. There are missionaries in Erzroom by the dozen, but not one of them can cross the boundaries of Russia, because Russia—as I said—is not afraid of our threats. Now then when we say that the Koran or Mohammed and his religion are propagated by the power of the sword, we must remember that we are using the sword in sending our missionaries into weak, helpless countries like Turkey and China.

In the next place we must find out whom Jesus had in mind when He gave the commandment, who were His disciples. If it is Tolstoi whom Jesus sends to China, the Chinamen may accept Christianity and they may not. But if it is Emperor William whom Jesus sends into China, they have got to accept Christianity. So it makes a great difference whom Jesus meant by His disciples. Again, we must try and make up our minds that there is no reason why we should be so anxious over the salvation of the Chinese. I am not quite sure that we are more favored by Heaven than the Chinese. In fact if we admitted that they were nearer God's heart than we are, there would be many evidences of that. In the first place, they are very much older than we are. God created them before He created us. He has been longer with them; He knows them better; and He certainly is fonder of them, because He has made more of them. You know that there are nearly 450,000,000 people there. To say that it is a matter of indifference whether there are 450,000 or 450,000,000 is certainly to say that God is not responsible for the population in China. And if He is not He does not concern Himself about so many souls. What evidence have we that He concerns Himself about the church they go to or as to their mode of worship or prayer, and if He could wait for thousands and thousands of years before sending our American or English missionaries, why can't we wait a little longer and see that in the course of evolution China becomes another Japan? And there really is a very strong argument against the claim that a nation has no career unless it becomes a Christian nation. Japan is the answer to that claim. She is one of the foremost nations in the world; one of the allied nations that went into China in the name of humanity and civilization. Their soldiers were as brave as ours, as faithful and as loyal, and in the arts and sciences she occupies a foremost rank to-day. And if Japan can be one of the civilized powers of the world without becoming a Christian nation, why cannot China do the same?

And in the next place we must try and fairly interpret the true meaning of the words of Jesus when He ordered His disciples into the world. He said to them, "Go two by two, and take with you nothing but a staff, but no money in your purse, no gold, no brass, no silver, no bread; take only one coat, not two." And He said, "If you go into a place and they do not want you, just shake the

dust off your shoes and depart." He didn't say, "Send for a gun-boat." He didn't say, "Send for an army." And He didn't say, "Travel across the continent in a Pullman sleeper and across the seas in a stateroom." We must, if we are going to quote Jesus at all, live up to the full spirit of His commandment, and not take only a part of it.

In the next place we must interpret what this Christian religion is that we are going to preach. We must first come to an understanding as to its meaning before we try to impose it upon the foreigner. "Resist not evil" was the great doctrine of Jesus. Now certainly we don't need an army and a navy to carry out that commandment. Although we may need an army and a navy to prevail upon us to turn also the other cheek to the man who smites us. The doctrines of non-resistance, poverty, celibacy, are the great doctrines as Jesus taught them. You remember He said, "Blessed are ye poor, and woe unto you who are rich." He also spoke of those "who become eunuchs for the Kingdom of Heaven's sake." Those were the great ideas in the doctrine of Jesus. But to-day we have in China not only a Protestant army of Methodists and Baptists, but almost every denomination represented. Would it not be better for these brethren first to come together and wipe out their differences and disagreements and come to an understanding as to what Christianity is before they go to preach it in foreign countries. Would it not be a great saving of expense if they were to form something like a missionary trust, and have one secretary instead of five or six, and one or two missionaries instead of fifty or seventy-five, and then the natives would be less bewildered and embarrassed and puzzled. Moreover, if our missionaries are not willing to give up their little whims, if they will stand the great expense involved in this sectarianism, if the Baptists will insist upon immersion and close communion and the Methodists upon isms at any cost, do you not think that it is somewhat unfair for them to expect the Chinaman to give up his convictions? If they insist upon their whims and their little differences at any cost, must not a Chinaman have the right to insist upon the doctrine of his ancestors?

Now I said that it is impossible to preach Christianity in China without force. It is for the same reason impossible for Mohammedanism to be preached in America. We say that this is a free country, that every religion is tolerated. Every religion is not tolerated in this country. Mohammedanism cannot exist in America. We don't allow that. There cannot be a community in this country that can practice polygamy or slavery, which are inseparable from Mohammedanism. Why? Because those doctrines are contrary to the very institutions of the land, because if they are permitted we must pass away. It is the same in China. Our missionaries go there and tell the natives to break the laws of the land, to do away with

ancestor worship and any other doctrine which is sacred and dear to them and which is necessary to the integrity of the nation. And yet do we wonder that the Chinese find it impossible to tolerate the missionaries preaching Christianity. Now I am not, I am sure, prejudiced against the missionary. As a man I think he is a brave, honest, lovable fellow. But he is a party man. He is a creed man. He goes there not because he loves the Chinaman, now mark that, but because he loves his Lord; he loves his own soul. There is a difference between militarism and missionaryism. Militarism is bad, too, but it is open and above board. Russia goes into Poland and Turkey goes into Armenia, not because they love the people, but because they want their land, they want their property. But the missionary goes into China, he says, because he loves the Chinaman. He doesn't. He doesn't care anything about the Chinaman. He will not associate with him. He will not take a Chinaman as the husband to his daughter; he will not live with him; he will not join the church in China; he will not become a member, and he will not be tried before a Chinese court. If a Chinaman has trouble with a missionary, he must appeal to the Mission Board in this country. If the Chinaman comes to this country the missionary will not mix with him. He will mix with him perhaps in Heaven, but he won't do any of the mixing here. So you see he goes there, not because he is so fond of the Chinaman, or because he must save him, but because he thinks it his duty, his Lord has commanded him to go there, and when an opportunity arrives for martyrdom, as a rule—and I don't blame him—he takes refuge in the English embassy, while the native Christians face the fire, and the missionary writes home that the natives died very bravely. Or course we are called upon to see the hand of the Lord in protecting the missionaries from death, and in the same breath we are invited to praise the Lord for giving the crown of martyrdom to the natives. In olden times when a missionary was invited to seal with his blood the doctrine he preached, he gladly welcomed the opportunity to be like his Master. But, as Lord Salisbury has told us, now instead of welcoming martyrdom he writes home for a gunboat.

As I say, the missionary as a man is an admirable fellow, but he is a sectarian. I believe in sects; we cannot all think alike. But I do not like sectarianism. I believe in commerce; I don't like commercialism. And so I like the missionary idea of the spreading of our thought, but I don't like missionaryism, and against that I am speaking this evening. Now it has been said that all this is a matter of evolution; we can't help it. We are the stronger nation, and we must assert ourselves. I want to tell you, my friends, that if that is so, it is also a matter of evolution that Christianity is losing its hold in America, in Germany, in England, and there is more work for the missionaries, therefore, in Christian countries than in heathen

countries. Surely if they remain here they have to fight against stronger opposition, against greater obstacles. But that will be, I think, the better work. Let them in the first place make a faithful experiment in missionary work here, and see what it can do in America, how much crime it can suppress. Let them measure the greed and vice it can do away with, before it is presented to the Heathen Chinese. Let us first find out if we can do without a society for the prevention of cruelty to children in America. Let us see if we can do away with the lynching practices in this country before we pose before the world as the instructor and savior of mankind.

The argument that commerce requires the invasion of China is a fallacious one. Already we have robbed Switzerland of the watch trade and England of the carpet trade. Our goods are being sent all over Europe without invading any of those countries. It is not necessary to conquer a people before we begin to trade with them. And there is such a thing as the "yellow peril." If our terms to China are severe, I am afraid that a dismemberment of the empire will be inevitable. In that case every European nation will have from eighty to a hundred million Chinaman to take care of. If industrial liberty is allowed in that country it will soon, like Japan, enter into competition with us and manufacture our own goods cheaper than we can and sell in Europe as Japan is selling to-day, French books printed in Japan. So we must not go too rapidly in this idea that trade and commerce require the conquest of China.

In conclusion, let us remember the words of George Washington, to be honest and fair in the treatment that we accord to the nations of the world.

THE CHAIRMAN: There has lately appeared upon our book stalls a book said to have accelerated the Boxer movement and brought on the war. It was written by Chang Wu Tang, entitled, "China's Only Hope." I have taken two or three sentences from that which I ask the privilege of reading right here, as I think they are appropriate, and show that Chinese statesmen have some comprehension of the methods and purposes of western civilization. He says, "Roman Catholicism and Protestantism have been propagated over four-fifths of the globe by military rule," and he adds, "There are now three things necessary to be done in order to save China from revolution: First, maintain the reigning dynasty; second, conserve the holy religion (that is, Confucianism); third, protect the Chinese race. This can be done by knowledge, and knowledge is religion, and religion is protected by strength, and strength lies in the troops." I state this here because the next speaker will take up the side adverse to that of Mr. Mangasarian. I take pleasure in introducing the Rev. John Henry Hopkins, of this city.

REV. JOHN HENRY HOPKINS: Mr. President, Gentlemen of the Sunset Club: The newspapers of last Sunday told us in their London correspondence, that even Lord Salisbury knows nothing of the real issue in China. Other people tell us that there is legitimate divergence of opinion amongst the diplomats themselves who are familiar with the oriental state of affairs. Therefore between the diplomats and Lord Salisbury it would be very difficult for me in twenty minutes, or even twice that time, to attempt to settle the whole Chinese question. I shall not attempt it.

Before proceeding to the few things I had outlined this evening, I wish to express my sense of honor at being invited to address this club. I wish to say a few things in reply to some of the things that have been said by my predecessor. The Christian missionary goes to China indeed because he loves his Lord. I am not speaking for all missionaries, but I am speaking for the noblest and the best of them. One of them whom I had the honor of knowing, so far from declining to mix with the Chinamen, so far from refusing any contact with them, has married a Chinese woman. He came to this country a few years ago with his wife, both of them in Chinese costumes. His name is Reverend F. L. Potts, and he is the son of Potts, the publisher in New York City. I think that is a fact that will offset the wholesale statement which my predecessor has made that the missionary will have nothing whatever to do with the Chinese, excepting possibly in Heaven. I don't know of much closer contact a man can have than to marry a person.

We are told that the missionaries go as the representatives of schisms. May I say right here, that nothing which my brother has said in condemning schism can be half so strong as the feeling that is in my own heart. I agree with him thoroughly and fully. I think that we ought to come together. I think there ought to be a basis of union. I think the original basis of the church, that of union, is the only basis that is fit to be presented to the world to-day. The church was one for seven hundred years. In God's own time, it will again be one. I do not believe that Christianity is losing her hold on Christendom. I believe there is more influence of Christianity to-day than there was a hundred years ago. I believe the cause is growing in the Christian world. And I believe we will all agree before long as we did for seven hundred years. But that is not about China. We will let that pass.

"The missionary goes, and he appeals to force." The missionary ought not to appeal to force. But force should back up the missionary, not because he is teaching religion, no, not because he is going with the highest and holiest of motives, but because he is a man, and if he is an American he is an American man and should be protected against infamy. He should be protected against assault; he should be protected by all means against anything that would assail his rights as a man.

"We should do to the Chinese as the Chinese would do to us." Do to your neighbor as you would have your neighbor do to you. Would you like to have your neighbor come into your country and have his friend at your mercy? Would you not rather that he would have his navy and army to force you to treat him as you would like to be treated in his country? That is the only basis of force. Any other appeal to it is unworthy. The missionaries do not ask for force. On the contrary the body of them met and sent a request to their home governments that they would not send force to them. If they have deserted their post, as has been said, and thanked God that He crowned the native converts with martyrdom, they did it unwillingly and at the command of their superior officers. They did it just exactly as the members of any regiment would obey a summons from headquarters, no matter how unwilling. They would consider it a privilege to die rather than turn back, but if ordered to retreat they would be bad soldiers if they did not retreat. That is the reason why the missionaries left their posts last summer. I have seen their writing that they were almost indignant, and inclined to disobey the orders of their superior officers, not because they were sneaking cowards, but because they were good soldiers. .

"China is older than we. Confucianism is the religion of the oldest nation in the world. Christianity is new. Christianity therefore should give way, bow humbly before the other religion." "By their fruits ye shall know them," said the Lord, not by their doctrines. It takes years for the best kind of fruit to be grown. So let us study them by their fruits. America is the product of Christianity. America inherits in her chartered form in all of her most glorious institutions, the essence of much of applied Christianity. And America should be more loyal to her Lord. She owes every atom of her glory to her Savior. That is simple, plain history. How about the poverty of the Chinese nation? Three millions of them died last year from starvation. It is an every year occurrence. In bad years ten millions die, and nobody notices it because they are poor. They are an older race. "God thinks more of them because they are an old race." Why, then, are they so poor and we so rich? Illiteracy is something we don't tolerate. Why are ninety-nine per cent of the women illiterate and ninety-five per cent of the men illiterate in that glorious ancient country, and only four-fifths of one per cent illiterate in our northern states? Shall we go by theories or realities of life? Think of the foot-binding of the women, of the demonology and the superstition and of the weight of woe that binds that people down. We know it all, if we study the writings of those people in the Chinese. And is it unselfishness to say, "Oh no, let us have a little less crime and vice in our fair land; let us see if we can possibly convert the impossible, obstinate, unbelievers, who never come to our churches, and form their opinions without due study, and allow that

ancient nation to wither in its poverty and vice and superstition? Is that true generosity? Is that doing unto others the way you would have others do unto you? No, it is not. And the missionary knows that. And the missionary goes first from a sense of duty, but if he is a true missionary he stays throughout his lifetime.

Now the missionaries know more about China than any other class of men. Minister Wu was present at a banquet something like our own in New York City, and by his side was the President of the Shanghai and Hong-Kong bank, an institution which stands to China very much like the First National Bank of Chicago, and ten of the New York banks combined would to the finances of this country. Minister Wu was congratulating the United States in his flowery eloquence on the pacified condition of China, and on the smoothness with which everything in governmental matters was proceeding, and the President of the Shanghai and Hong-Kong bank reiterated his statements the very moment the Boxers were rioting in China. Why were they doing it? Were they doing it because they had been inflamed with anti-Christian teachings? No, they were not. Your Chinaman does not care enough about religion to go to war about it. Your Chinaman is sunk in the slough of lethargy about all things spiritual. It makes no difference to him what religion is. He will have his Buddhism or his Christianity, it makes no difference to him. Why were those mobs pillaging? I will tell you very briefly what I believe to be the history of China in the past two hundred and fifty years. Two hundred and fifty years ago the Manchus came to China. They won their way to the throne by fearful wars of invasion, and have maintained themselves ever since because the Chinese cannot help themselves. There have been fearful curses during their history. One of the most terrible came there at the time of our Civil War, when millions of men were slaughtered in rebellion, and the reforming party, who hate the Manchus, who say, "China for the Chinese," and "Down with the invader and foreigner," almost won the day. It took the strong arm of France and England to come to the support of the tyrants and put down the reformers and stop that rebellion. Chinese Gordon was the man who struck the last blow and won the fight for the present dynasty. The present dynasty has hated foreigners from the first day of their rule. The whole uprising of the past summer has come from one of the reigning dynasty, the Empress Dowager herself. She is responsible for it all. The missionaries have nothing whatever to do with it, except in a few isolated cases. It was not an attack on them at all. The whole movement has been an anti-foreign movement incited by this one woman. She has ordered the governors of provinces to kill these foreigners. Some of them have done it. Some of them have refused. In one province the governor was transferred from another province where he had been responsible for the murder of British subjects.

The English Government had insisted that man should be deposed. The Dowager did not depose him, she sent him to another province, and you will find in that man's province most of the murders have been done.

The missionaries have been hoping that something would come to open the eyes of diplomats of Christendom and the eyes of the governments of Christendom to the fact that the enemy of the Chinese is the Manchu dynasty, who are foreigners themselves, who are not Chinese; and those governments who support that reigning dynasty are holding China back from reform and keeping back the advancement of civilization. Japan six years ago attacked China, and won the battle against China because of the dishonesty of Chinese officials. They themselves have said that. A leading Chinese paper stated soon after the war closed, that the war was not won because of Japan's superior excellence, but because of the dishonesty of the Chinese officials themselves, men who cannot be trusted by their own government. There is only one department of the government that is managed with honesty and integrity, and that is the customs department, and that is managed by Sir Robert Hart, an Englishman who has been there since the early sixties. The crisis came not because China was weak, but because of her men. The diplomats, disregarding the warning of the missionaries, allowed themselves to become parties to a plan for the dismemberment of the country and helping to support the reigning dynasty and putting down the reformers from within. Call it a revolution if you like, the attempt of the Chinese race to overthrow that Manchu woman and have China for the Chinese and not China for the Manchus. That is the real crux of the whole case. What went on? Russia and Germany and England took a slice and before we knew it there was international relationship established between the governments of so-called Christendom and the government of China. Even then the reform party began more earnestly to plot and plan for improvement, and two years ago the thing came to a focus. The young Emperor is the leader of the reformers in China. The Empress is the sworn and implacable foe of reform in China. The young Emperor had his way. He published this edict of reform that was all along the line of advancement, and what was the result? The result was that the diplomats, warned though they were by the missionaries, paid no heed to it, and the Emperor was imprisoned. What did it mean to you two years ago when you heard that the Emperor had been imprisoned? You know now. I believe that even Lord Salisbury knows what it means now. Certainly he learned what it meant last summer. It meant this, that the reform party was put down, and from that moment this Empress Dowager went to busy herself with every possible means she could enlist in order to down the foreigners and drive them out. She was resolved that nothing should shake her in her own empire. What

then happened? Soon the Boxer society arose. At first they were opposed by the government. Soon the Empress found she could use them as a force, for her own army was not sufficient, and they raised a storm that soon ran beyond control. It was not enough for them to attack the missionaries. They attacked all foreigners. What are we going to do about it? This affair has not been because the missionaries asked for gunboats. They have been there doing the noblest kind of work that can be done, telling their brothers about God, how to get away from opium. You know that eighty per cent of men and fifty per cent of women are opium fiends in China, and there isn't a single church in China that is opposed to it.

Sir Robert Hart has said that he is rather pessimistic about the outcome. I think that is because he is an old man. I bow humbly to his superior knowledge, but I still think that is because he is an old man. He says only two things are possible. One is the partition of China, and the other is the wholesale Christianization of China. I thank God that he said the latter, for it is what I believe in my own heart. I don't believe China will be partitioned. The American people are against it. They are right. What the American people are against is not coming to pass in the twentieth century. If that is the case let us apply ourselves to see that instead of listening to and being frightened by the misguided, instead of misunderstanding these noble men and women of the nineteenth century who are leaving their homes and going out among all sorts of privations to preach the doctrine of regeneration to a lost race, let us see we back them up and support them.

I believe that those are the points that are to guide us for the future. I do think it is the most important question before the American people to-day, what attitude they are to take, whether of refusing to insist that the moral and spiritual life of China so far as in us lies be elevated to some approximation of our God-given blessedness, whether they shall insist on that by co-operation with missionary work, or whether they shall by taking the negative attitude, stand by and let the advocates of revolution see that China is partitioned, that her unity is destroyed, and that her future is dissipated in endless civil wars. I believe that the watch-word of this day has been laid down by Sir Robert Hart. China should not be divided, but should be Christianized from one end of her vast territory to the other.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Ireland, who is the next speaker, has given special study to this question, is a distinguished author, and has written a book on Colonization of the Tropics, and is well versed in the characteristics of the Chinese in colonies in Australia and the Pacific ocean, although he himself has never been in China.

MR. ALLEYNE IRELAND: It is a peculiar gratification to me as an Englishman to speak about Chinese affairs, for this reason, that every time I have spoken upon English affairs I have always been taunted with the fact that England is a land grabber, and it is therefore with feelings of peculiar gratification that I speak about China, because England has grabbed less of China than any other country except the United States. For instance, Russia has taken about a million and a quarter square miles, Germany fifty-three thousand, France one hundred and fifty-seven thousand, and England only two hundred square miles in the island of Hong-Kong. Now I am afraid I cannot give you to-night any display of oratory or impassioned rhetoric. I am rather afraid that my training as an economist is going to tie me down to earth. I am not concerned in the Chinese in Heaven. I am very much concerned with the Chinaman on earth. He is a very important factor on earth. I hope he will have his fair show in the kingdom to come, but I hope he won't be such a menace to the whole crowd of us there as he is here. Now the reason why I am going to speak to you upon the economic aspect of this question is that all of you are more or less students, and you will notice that to-day all political action and all legislative action follows economic conditions, and if we can get down to understanding something of the economic conditions of the situation we are in better position to forecast something in an indefinite way of what the legislative action and political action is likely to be, because most of us are pretty well tied down to our political economy, and to that we must look to mold our political actions. China has a population of from two hundred to four hundred millions, and her economic condition is this: If I analyze the complete returns of several great nations for the past ten years, I find this result: every man, woman and child in the United Kingdom produces goods for export to the value of twenty-eight dollars a year; in France, seventeen dollars; in Germany, fourteen dollars; in the United States about fourteen dollars, and in China it is thirty cents per head. Here is a people of four hundred million, and it takes fifty of them to produce as much on a moderate estimate as is produced by one American or one Englishman.

Now we go to these people and say to them, "John, it is about time you got a move on you. Why don't you adopt our spinning arrangements and our railroads and postoffices and telegraphs, and all that sort of thing?" And we go there with a good deal of confidence and say, "Wake up, go around and do something and produce something more than thirty cents a head." Now, won't it be a fortunate thing for us when China takes us at our word? What would be the result if economic conditions in China could be so changed that five Chinamen could produce as much as one Englishman? The products for export that would be produced in China on that basis

would be equal to the total combined export products of France and Germany to-day, and only twenty-five per cent less than the total combined export products of the United Kingdom and the United States. We have to look at this thing in a large view, and I don't know that that is going to happen in ten or fifteen years, but if it did happen, here would be a great nation with resources equal to those of the United States. A single province in China has enough coal and iron together to last the whole world at its present rate of consumption for three thousand years. That is the estimate of one of the most eminent geologists of the present century. Supposing the Chinaman takes us at our word and starts to use these things! He will get up a great export trade and will be able to undersell us. Perhaps we will say we don't want Chinese products anyhow. But when we send out the hired girl to go round and buy something, we are not going to say anything to her about Chinese products, but we will simply say, "Get the best thing you can for the money." In a country like this where you have a policy of high protection, no doubt Chinese goods will be shut out, and it is in that very fact the danger of the Chinese situation lies to me from an economic standpoint.

You all know the reason, I imagine, why Great Britain has always been a land grabber. It is this: Supposing that Australia and the West Indies instead of belonging to England, belonged to France, how much trade would England get out of them? It is not a question of, "How much do I get out of my colonies by trade?" but "How much would I get out of them if they belonged to somebody else?" If France owned Australia and put up a tariff of fifty per cent against British goods, where am I going to get the market for my goods? The result is that England has been obliged to embark on a policy of territorial expansion, or other countries would shut her goods out. And it is worthy of note that there is not a single piece of land owned by England where other nations cannot go and trade on the same basis as England. And imagine China with these products ready to sell, shut out from Russia and Asia, from the Philippines, from the Dutch West Indies and other parts of the world. China is going to want a market. Now then the march of economic development there will undoubtedly produce a certain development in the national character, a certain change in the national habit, and by the time China has got to the point where she is an exporting nation, she will have developed politically, and this Boxer business and the war of 1860 have made it probable China will become a naval and military power, and when she does and goes out looking for markets, it is going to be a pretty rough thing for people who get in the way.

Now before I pass from that phase of the subject, I would like to say one thing. I have had the pleasure of living in this country for about three years, and a great pleasure it has been. The newspapers and magazines say, "The great scheme is this: we want markets; that

is what we are looking for. Now look at the Philippine archipelago. It is a half-way house to the Chinese market." I wonder how many people know what kind of a market China is. We have been talking about selling the gay Filipino and the festive Chinaman folding beds, typewriters, etc. I find that China has sold this country since 1784, when the first American flag appeared in China, \$500,000,000 worth more stuff than this country has sold China. Now there isn't much of a market above that, even under present conditions. Now if China can do that in a hundred years in her present low state of economic conditions, when she still looks like thirty cents, so to speak, what is the condition going to be when she gets a whole pocketbook full of small change? That is the point. Personally, as an economist, that scares me a great deal.

Now, as a matter of fact, to come down to the present situation, it seems to me that all discussion of the missionary question in regard to China is governed by this one fact: If it could be shown to-morrow that there had never been a missionary who went to China and committed a mistake, that every man who went there had been a perfect saint and had lived as we know that the highest Christian doctrine would allow him to live, it would still leave the whole missionary question absolutely on one side. The question is not what the missionary does, but what the Chinaman thinks the missionary does. As long as a Chinaman really believes that a missionary takes the eyes of little children out of their heads and pounds them up to make medicine, the conduct of the missionary has no effect at all. I have seen missionaries in very many countries, and my experience is this, that while you cannot take any class that does not have a lot of people who don't know where they are anyhow, I believe that the mass of missionaries in China have not made fools of themselves, and most of them have been gentlemen, anyhow, and that goes a long way. And they have behaved decently. And what I want to get at is this: It is not a question of what the missionary is; it is a question of what the Chinaman believes he does. I have never seen anything in missionary records to show that the missionaries who were known to have made mistakes were any more unpopular than the ones who did not make mistakes. It is not a question of misconduct. The Chinaman objects to him on principle. If you take the history of China from the earliest times you will find China has had one thing which prevents it from adopting what we are pleased to call western civilization more than anything else to my mind, and that is her system of government. Now if you take the Chinese empire as it is to-day, every man who holds an official position in China must be, from the very fact that he occupies that position, opposed to all manner of progress, for this reason, that China is the most democratic country that ever existed. Everything goes by examination. The meanest son of a man who sweeps the street, if

he is smart enough to go to school and take his examination, can go up eventually to Peking. It doesn't matter whose son he is, if he can go through and pass his examination in Chinese classics, if he can tell why the Chinese sign which represents the sun is open at the bottom and the sign which represents the moon is open at the bottom, any post is open to him. Now you can see that if China once allows progress to be opened to her, that whole mandarin class will be swept away. The moment you go there and say, "The reason why you shall command a gunboat is because you know something about ships," that day the whole edifice on which Chinese civilization is built will fall to the ground. Until some change is made in that system there is little hope that we can induce China to adopt any great degree of western civilization, presuming that in itself is a good thing.

I have never lived in China, but I have lived a great deal in the tropics, and I want to call your attention to one thing. The Chinaman has one thing where he has all of us by the short hair, and that is, you take an Englishman or an American and put him in London or New York and he will work and live and thrive and have a family and get along all right, but you take that man and put him in the tropics and he can't do it. He can't live in the tropics and retain his race characteristics. He may live there, but his children cannot. Take the English officials in the tropics: Their children have to go home to be educated. In the third generation you will find their blood has become thin. But you can take a Chinaman and put him up on a north pole expedition, or a south pole expedition, and rescue him when you feel disposed and are short of magazine matter, and you don't move the Chinaman around any, so to speak. The Chinaman has got a physiological adaptability which no other race in the world has, and if he ever starts to use it we will all have to move around pretty lively, I tell you.

Now, what are the prospects, gentlemen? You see I have lived three years in the United States, don't you? What are the prospects of this thing taking any definite shape? The tropics are destined to become preponderatingly Chinese, and they will be competitors in markets which at present are foreign to us all. The Chinaman is being pressed from the north. Russia has cut off a slice every now and then when no one was looking, and now in the north the Chinaman and the Russian stand upon an equality. They both get behind a stone wall and don't fight one another. But when you get down to southern China you get into the sub-tropics and then into the tropics, and in the case of France in Tonquin, she will be absolutely helpless if China ever moves. My theory is this, if China is pressed to the north, she is going to move to the south, and the result will be that there will be an overflow of Chinese population bursting into Burma, then into Siam, into southern Thibet—not so important there

—but down into the Malay peninsula, she will get into Java, and all those islands, and shoot across and take in Ceylon and tropical Africa, and in order to show you what the effect would be on the population if that happened, I am going to give you some interesting figures. When I wished to study the labor question in the tropics I spent four years as manager of a South American sugar plantation. There was great difficulty in getting laborers. We emancipated the slaves in British India and taught them to wear boots, and they have never worked since. We had to send ten thousand miles to get all our labor. There is a population of negroes there that is ample to satisfy the needs of the country, but they sit down and won't work. The East Indian is the weakest, the most yielding of all men in the world. He is a yielding man, when you push him he gives way. In 1831 the population of British Guiana consisted of ninety-seven per cent of negroes and three per cent of whites, and the condition now is this: the population consists of forty-three per cent of negroes, forty-seven per cent of East Indians, and the rest are made of white people and nondescripts. Now there is the fact, that the negro has decreased from ninety-seven per cent to forty-three per cent, while the East Indian has increased from nothing to forty-seven per cent. Now if that is what the East Indian can do in the way of pushing people around, what is going to happen when the Chinaman starts to do it. And there you have a fair instance of what is going to happen to the Chinaman.

This trouble with China is unfortunately one in which both are wrong. There is no doubt that China has adopted from the earliest times a policy which, if nothing else happened, was sufficient to account for every war she was ever in. Supposing some Englishman had got murdered in a riot in New York, and England said, "I guess we will take Florida for the time being." What would happen? You would hear something drop. Both sides are necessarily wrong. China has committed an outrage on international law, and the nations have committed repeated outrages on China, and it is in a pretty bad tangle. What we are going to get out of China is what China is going to let us get out of her in the last resort, that is about the whole thing.

THE CHAIRMAN: The last speaker reminded me in his fear of the Chinese of the same fear that overtook me last summer when I read Dr. Arthur H. Smith's book on "Chinese Characteristics." He is a missionary of high authority who has lived in China for thirty years, and he said he could furnish ten million Chinese soldiers, each of whom could sleep across three wheelbarrows with the head hanging down and a fly in his mouth, as showing how they could stand discomfort beyond that of any other nation, and how impossible it would be to stand up against them if they were once aroused.

MR. EUGENE B. CUSHING: The idea of getting up to speak to the question of China in a five-minute talk is rather appalling, and I think I shall just confine the few remarks I shall make to some of the statements of the previous speakers. I think in the matter of China that as American citizens, as the people of a progressive, intelligent, justice loving nation, that we ought to be able to see that which is good, that which is noble, that which is right, on both sides of this question. Now I was very much interested in listening to Mr. Mangasarian's keen, witty pokes at our friends the missionaries. He had lots of fun with them, and I rather enjoyed it. At the same time that really is hardly fair. Mr. Hopkins takes the extreme view on the other side. Now in China it is just the same exactly as it is in the United States, in Germany, in England or in any other country in the world. There is a golden medium. If you look at both sides fairly you will find that there is good and bad on both sides, and that is exactly the question in China to-day. There are good missionaries. There are lots of them, of the noblest kind of men, who go to China really because they do love the downtrodden, the poor of the earth; there are others who go for less worthy motives. There is one extreme which naturally attracts our friends of the press. That is the sensational elements that produce readers and create interest, and those are the things we hear of, but the every day life of the people in China is very much the same as it is in every other country. There is no country in the world which has a monopoly of goodness or badness. That reminds me of an incident that came under my notice in Colorado in the early days. There was a Kentucky doctor who went out there as a pioneer and took a couple of thoroughbred horses with him, and he found a little meadow which he thought would be a good place to pasture his thoroughbreds, so he put a fence around it. The next day two men mounted on mustangs and fully armed rode up to the doctor's house and said, "What right have you got to this land here? Produce your title." He said, "Gentlemen, I have got a good title, and will produce it," and he went into a back room and presently he came back with a Winchester cocked and leveled at these two men, saying, "This is my title." They said, "It's damn good, sir," and went off. That is a good deal the attitude of the powers of the world against China. It is the title of the shotgun. That is why they are there. They have no more right in China than the Chinaman has in America. I don't care whether it is a missionary or a merchant or a doctor. He has absolutely no right there except by the sufferance of the Chinese, and when we compare the reception that the Chinese have given to Americans and to the citizens of every nation with the way we have treated the Chinese, I do not think we can say much. We invited the Chinaman to this country by legislation, and then turned round and denied him every right a citizen could possibly have claimed, and finally we got

to fear him so much that we refused to let him come any longer. That is the attitude of this country.

MR. LUIS JACKSON: I would like to differ with my English friend, and to remove, if I possibly can, the scare which is going around the United States that we should not do anything for China for fear that ultimately she will get above the thirty-cent limit and become competitors with us. I think we ought to squelch that idea from the start, and not think that as long as we keep a nation in ignorance we can trade with them. You all know the story of the two bodies of men who came to an island and one dug coal and the other grew wheat. They did this till they had so much coal and wheat on hand they could not use it, and one man suggested that they change and start making pianos and bath tubs, and ultimately every man in this country and China will have a piano and a bath tub and an automobile, and that is the true principle of economics—to get out of this world as much industrial wealth as we possibly can.

But the question before the club is what ought the Christian or civilized world to do? As far as we are concerned in China we ought to treat China in the American way. We ought to treat her nobly. We ought to let the Chinese feel that when they have done wrong we are not going around mercilessly to kill every man, woman or child that we see. We must let them feel that the American heart thinks and knows that a mother is a mother, Chinese or otherwise. We must try, as a matter of international law, to prevent the recurrence of this thing. We must endeavor, perhaps by retiring from China, to make such a stipulation that their courts will no longer administer torture, just as we compelled the Christians to do away with the inquisition; the one is simply an equivalent of the other. We should retire from China so that they may respect the noble American, so that we may leave an impression on every other nation. We have done this in the last few years, we treated Spain nobly. We did not exact any indemnity. We have given them some money. We were the first people to teach the world that when a man offers to give up his sword we are too magnanimous to receive it. We taught the world in the Spanish war that when we did sink a ship we stopped the cheering because the poor fellows were dying. We have China by the throat at present. Seven or eight nations are there. We are there, and I think we can influence mankind by retiring after we have impressed upon the people that all we want is a noble reparation, one that won't disgrace us or our children, one that will make America's name known for its nobility, and though I am an adopted citizen of this country, I tell you I feel proud to think that in all our wars we have ended nobly and have not taken the shirt from our enemy's back, but have shaken him by the hand, and said, "Go back to your field and improve and benefit your country."

MR. JOSEPH B. DAVID: "By their fruits ye shall know them," I believe is the Biblical expression used here this evening. What should be the policy of the Christian world in the crisis in China? Judging from past events, if the Christian world does as they have always done, they will soon depopulate China by placing the Chinamen under the sod. If the Christian world had something to say, I mean from a religious standpoint, they would do what they did when they came here to the United States. Where are the hundreds of thousands of Indians? Where are the native Hawaiians? Where are the Samoans? Where are they? In Heaven. Why don't we come right down to hard pan and say this religious business is all a delusion and a fake and a snare, and back of it all is the commercial instinct? It is not a question of religion. It is a question of how much money can we make out of this thing. That is the whole thing in a nutshell. You talk about fairness, you talk about justice; suppose an American citizen went into China and the Chinese government insisted that he should have his photograph taken, that he should register his photograph, what would we say? Why that is an outrage. And yet we require a man when he comes to this country from China to do this. If he is a laboring man, we deport him, we lock him up in jail, no charge against him, and then go to enormous expense to get him out.

Now what right have we when we have violated the law of the United States to say that all men are created free and equal excepting the Chinamen? We invited them to come, and when we saw they were getting too warm for us we excluded them altogether. It is all rot, this talk about the missionaries. Opium was introduced in China by a Christian nation. England forced it down the Chinaman's throat, and England is a Christian nation, and from that day dates the deterioration of the Chinese people. What is the result in the Philippines since we have been there? The Filipinos knew nothing about whisky. Whisky is a product of Christian civilization. What did we send into Hawaii? Whisky. What have we sent into every country where we sought to introduce the methods of Christian civilization? Why, when we go to China and tell them we want them to adopt American civilization, just look at Chicago to-day. The Mayor of Chicago is being condemned by the newspapers because he doesn't inject some Christian civilization into Chicago. These ministers are being kept pretty busy here in Chicago, and I believe charity begins at home, and when they have civilized the Christian world, particularly the United States, it is time for them to talk about going to China.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Chair will allow Mr. Ireland the privilege of thirty seconds to make a statement.

MR. IRELAND: I merely want to say that I am reminded of a story of a little girl who came to her mother with a sore hand and said, "I got a hornet by the leg, but it hurt when he sat down."

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker, Dr. Smythe, was for seventeen years a missionary to China and has been in this country about one year.

DR. GEORGE B. SMYTHE: There is a punishment in China called death by the lingering process, and it would seem that the missionaries have been subjected to this process in Chicago to-night. Now I don't come here to speak especially of the missionary or of his work in China, but really to speak to the subject which was given me, that is, The crisis in China, and the causes that led up to it, and then the policy which should be pursued by the western powers in view of it. But I must say one or two words about this much discussed missionary, seeing that I am one myself. Now Mr. Mangasarian said that it would be well for the missionary to stay at home until all of the evil is driven out of this country. Now Mr. Mangasarian's name does not sound American; he does not look to me American; and my question is, in God's name, what is Mr. Mangasarian doing in Chicago? What is he doing here? Why doesn't he stay in his own country? There may be something peculiar in the circumstances of Chicago men which requires a foreign missionary. That is the only way I can account for his presence.

Now the subject is a very serious one, of course, and I would ask you gentlemen to remember one thing, that a great many of the missionaries in China are American men and American women, and before they left this country they were thought to be honorable men and honorable women, and I ask you what is there in the mere fact of crossing the Pacific to make them deserving of the reproaches which have sometimes been cast upon them? They are men just like yourselves. They are the average American citizens, American citizens of the best type, and it was because they were thought to be such that they were sent out, and I ask you simply this, in thinking of them, think of them as men and women who have gone there with serious purpose to carry out the command of the Master, which they must obey. All they ask is that you will be fair to your countrymen and women who are doing the best work they can in that distant land. Now I will not discuss the principle of missionary work. The Christian church will never consent to discuss it with any body of men. I am perfectly willing to discuss the result of it at any time, but the principle of it I will not discuss.

Now one or two things on some remarks that have been made. "We must insist on the Chinese becoming Christian." I have been a missionary for seventeen years in the greatest center of Christian

work in all the empire, and have visited every center of missionary work in China, and this is the first time I have heard that.

Again, "The church's position is that this Christianity must be jabbed into the Chinese," whatever that means. That is not the position of the Christian church.

"Wherever there is a missionary to-day, it is because we have the bayonet. It is impossible for missionaries to live in China without force." One word on that last statement. No man could make that statement who was familiar with the history of the Chinese empire. Roman Catholic missionaries went to China three hundred years ago when there was no force behind them, and there was no minister or consul to protect them or defend them. Protestant missionaries went to China ninety years ago, long before treaties of any kind were made with any country guaranteeing protection to these missionaries. They went there before the clauses guaranteeing protection were ever made, before treaties of any kind were made. They went irrespective of treaties, and I think that I can speak fairly, for the great majority of missionaries in China to-day are American missionaries, when I say that if the treaties were withdrawn the vast majority of missionaries would stay. No one has a right to assert that missionaries could not stay there unless the force of a foreign government was behind them. They staid there before they had that force, and I think it is a libel—excuse me for using the word—but it is a misunderstanding of the character of the Chinese people to make such an assertion.

"The missionary does not associate with the Chinese, and will not be tried by the Chinese members of his church." Now I am myself a standing refutation or a standing reply to that statement. I have been connected, as I said, for seventeen years, with the largest American mission in the whole empire. I belong to a conference which has about sixty-five members. You know the Methodist church is divided into conferences, and every Methodist belongs to one. There are sixty-five members in that conference, and at the present time there are only six of them Americans, and for the last seventeen years my ecclesiastical standing and position has depended absolutely upon the will and the wishes of that great majority of Chinese members. I have had nothing to defend myself with, and if they wished to they could try me and they could expel me. I was on the same footing precisely in that conference as any Chinese member, and that is the case with every conference of the Methodist Episcopal church in China. We are equal associates; we have no special privileges of any kind, and my own standing is dependent on the good will or votes of these men. If they wished to vote me out they could have done so. That statement can be generally made, and that is coming to be more and more true of the Christian mis-

sionary in China. If I had known this was going to be spoken of I could have prepared a more elaborate defense of the missionary than I can make in these remarks, but all I can ask of you is to think of us as serious men who are doing what we think to be right, and if you don't believe in our methods at least give us credit for purity of motive.

Now with reference to the causes. In saying what I have said about missionaries, I don't mean to say, of course, that missionaries are not responsible for any crime in China. I cannot allow myself to go to an extreme of that kind. There are two kinds of causes which have given rise to this trouble. One which may be called general causes, and then special causes. It might be well, however, to define in the first place what is meant by the trouble. There are very exaggerated notions abroad with reference to the extent of the trouble in China, the extent of the uprising of the last three or four months. It has been construed as a great national protest of the Chinese people against the foreigners, against the foreign merchant, the missionary and the official, but it cannot be thought of as a national uprising of the Chinese officials against anybody. The trouble has been largely confined to three or four provinces in the north, one in the central part, and one in the southeast. There is no evidence whatever to show that the Chinese people as a whole have risen against the foreigner of foreign influences. Now if we will remember that, it will help us somewhat to explain the causes.

With reference to the general causes, they are causes which laid the groundwork on which the special causes afterwards relied. The Chinese people are a patient race. They bear with things which western people would not bear with readily. It is not easy to excite them, but there have been causes of irritation at work, and among these I am perfectly free to say that the missionary and missions must be included; not that they desire to irritate, but because it is simply inevitable. The merchant and his methods are also causes of irritation, because they are new. They are like new forces entering into that old life. Christianity has never gone into any country for the first time without causing disturbance of some kind, and it never can, and I am perfectly free to say that if Christianity could ever go into a country and not cause opposition it would not be worth having. It must, while it retains its characteristics, be the cause of opposition. It is not because of any intent on the part of those who preach it. Its moral and spiritual claims are the cause of opposition and hostility. There are some things that may be closely connected with the work of Christian propaganda which are the causes. I refer to what are called the protection clauses in the treaty, by which native Christians are granted protection under certain circumstances, or immunity from certain kinds of persecution. These were not introduced into these treaties by missionaries, nor asked for by any mis-

sionary society, but the powers thought if such a clause were not introduced, then the Chinese government would persecute these converts to death, and in the name of humanity the United States and England and other countries introduced clauses of that kind into the treaties protecting the convert against murderous persecution. That sometimes has been misused and has been the cause of trouble. Then the whole principle which takes foreigners from under the jurisdiction of Chinese officials is a cause of irritation. It cannot be avoided. The only thing is for a foreigner to be tactful.

Then there are other causes. One of them is the position of the Chinese litterati themselves. They feel that in the great progress of foreign ideas, in the progress of foreign business and life they see the doom of their own privileges, and therefore they circulate slanders of all kinds against all classes of foreigners.

With reference to special causes. These operate upon the government rather than upon the officials and the people. The ministers and the extra-territorial clauses of the powers and the action of the litterati, act upon the provincial officials and the people, but these which I shall now refer to act specially on the government. One is this: You must remember the attitude of the Manchu government. The Manchus are comparatively a small number of people living in the midst of a much greater population than themselves, and therefore from the very beginning the policy of the Manchu dynasty has been one of exclusion of all foreigners and their influences, for the simple reason that they thought that if foreign ideas were allowed to permeate the life and thought of the Chinese people, the time would come when the great masses of the Chinese would awake to a consciousness of their own power, and would drive the Manchu dynasty from the throne. On that account the policy of the Manchus from the beginning almost to the present time has been one of exclusion of foreigners and foreign influences. Then again, the policy of the western powers has not been wide. Long before the attacks upon the territory of China the policy of America and other countries has been vacillating. Treaties have been made with China and when they were violated the observance was not insisted upon. Things were allowed to go on. The Chinese government was not called to account at all, and the result of that was the Chinese government came to believe it could violate the treaties with impunity, and I don't blame it because of the treatment given it by the foreigners. The vacillating policy of governments of western countries has been partly the cause of the recent troubles in China. Then again, there is the whole reform movement, which culminated, as you know, two years ago in the decrees which were issued by the Emperor. Now the foreigners had nothing to do with that. Yet they were simply foreign ideas which the Emperor favored. He wished, as you know, to establish schools and introduce various

reforms into the government of China, and the Empress Dowager was opposed to reforms of that kind and made him a prisoner in his own palace, because the Manchu government saw in the progress of reform its own death. The Emperor was a Manchu, but he was an exceptional one. Then there were other causes to which I have not time to refer.

Now here is the condition. On one side a people irritated sometimes beyond endurance, partly hostile, and yet on the whole not prepared to proceed to extremities. On the other side we have a government bitterly hostile and because of the supposed necessities of its own existence, only waiting for opportunity to carry out the spirit of its hatred into opposition. Now the opportunity came in the Boxer movement. The government of China, it has been shown very clearly since, thought it saw in the Boxer movement a method of carrying out its cherished ambition of expelling all foreigners from China. Now the Boxer movement began in the province of Shang-Tung in the northern part of China, and the aggressions on the territorial entity of China began in the same province. Therefore I have no hesitation in saying that the immediate cause of the Boxer movement, the direct, the special cause of the Boxer movement, was this violation of the integrity of the Chinese empire in China by the foreigners in China. These people at Shang-Tung, you must remember, are among the most intelligent, the most high spirited people to be found in the Chinese empire. If you go up to Manchuria, which Russia now covets, you will find it is the finest part of the Chinese empire. Who has made it what it is? The independent, high spirited colonists who went there from the province of Shan-Tung, and when Germany and England proceeded to take in that province, the two finest harbors on the Chinese coast, could you expect that a people like the people of Shan-Tung would sit still and do nothing in protest? And then the government under the lead of the Empress Dowager, Prince Tuan, President of the Tsung-li-Yamen, and others, thought, as I say, that they saw in this movement a means of driving out the foreigners, and if I were a Chinaman I should have sympathy with them.

Now we speak of Christian governments. Well, that is a matter of courtesy. Let us speak of western governments. What shall they do? Let me first speak of what they should not do. I believe that if Christianity is to succeed in China it must succeed because it is true. I don't want any other argument in its defense but its own truth. If it is not true it will not succeed and ought not to. Therefore there should be no interference by the foreign powers with any social or religious custom of the Chinese people. Nothing of the sort should be done. It has been suggested that should be done. I am entirely opposed to it. Then there should be no attempt to upset the present dynasty. I do not look with favor on it, and yet it must

be maintained. If the Manchu dynasty be overthrown, where will the foreign powers find a successor? You have heard of the Mings. Where are the Mings? They are all dead as far as we know, and there is no patriotic feeling in the hearts of the Chinese people for them. Their dynasty was overthrown and that showed they lost the favor of heaven, and that settled it in the minds of the Chinese. Therefore we must maintain the Manchu dynasty. I think it would be a good thing if we could seat the Emperor on the throne, the Empress Dowager being a usurper.

Now then the indemnities that are enforced should be only such as to cover the actual loss. I do not believe the foreign powers ought to ask for an indemnity for these immense forces that have been sent up there in the last two or three years. Gentlemen, has not China been punished heavily enough in the almost total destruction of Tien-Tsin and Peking, and the looting of the imperial palace and the most sacred places in the city by the troops that were sent there by the foreigners? Have not the Chinese people been punished enough? But I believe there ought to be indemnities for actual losses that were sustained before all these things began. In relation to punishments it doesn't become a Christian missionary to speak of it, and yet for the sake of China and the Chinese people themselves, I think that the officials who were directly responsible for the murder of people should be punished, and that should be done as much on behalf of China itself as on behalf of the foreigners who were residing there. And finally, let us act as men from the west ought to act. Let us act up to our best ideals in dealing with China. Let our military forces live up to the best ideals. All this looting and robbery is a disgrace to the west. Now then, let us not do anything which will perpetually humiliate the Chinese people. The one great thing which we should do is to help them maintain their self-respect, and as a Christian minister and American citizen I do protest with my humble voice against the enforcing of any terms which will remind the Chinese perpetually of the injustice of foreigners and their own intolerable humiliation. Let there be nothing of that kind done.

DR. GEE WO. CHAN: In honoring me with an invitation to speak before you this evening, I am afraid that you have over-estimated by ability to enlighten you upon a subject which is now, perhaps, one of the gravest questions with which the world has had to deal in many years.

The question of right and justice is one which admits of much discussion and which presents many sides. While I admit that China is wrong in her present method of procedure, she also has had many wrongs inflicted upon her that have led up to the events which are now taking place. A country which was more wisely ruled or which had more educated people would doubtless have escaped her

present trials by diplomatic procedure, but China is neither ruled wisely, nor well educated, and has sought to accomplish by force that which she was not able to do otherwise from her lack of knowledge of modern civilization.

Their present struggle is one for self-preservation and existence against the greed of the civilized world, which has combined to wrest from her all that she has to give without thought of what may be left for her own people. The most valued concessions of every kind have been forced from her upon one pretext or another, without compensation to the country or to the people.

Railroads have been built by foreign capital regardless of the value of the lands or compensation to the owners.

In a country where the land under cultivation does not equal an acre for the support of each family, and where every inch must bear all that can be forced from the soil, the matter of seizure without compensation or other means of support to those who must bear the burden, is a most serious matter and means wholesale starvation to thousands. Not only this alone, but you can imagine for yourselves the feelings of hostility that would arise were foreigners to come here and not only seize your lands under cultivation, but to include with it the cemeteries of your dead and scatter to the winds the ashes of your loved ones.

This is but one of the many grievances which lack of time forbids me to mention. To me personally, missions properly conducted are great benefits to China, but the masses look at them differently. Another great cause of contention is the missionary question.

Dr. Coltman, one of the best informed men in China, said last week in the *Chicago Record* that nearly every riot that occurred in China was due to the missionaries. Under the treaties, by force, merchants, as well as missionaries, are granted their choice of lands, at a nominal figure and are permitted to import provisions they may require free of duty. Many take advantage of this fact to import large quantities of goods which they sell at a price lower than the Chinese merchants can buy them. For instance, in the item of salt alone, which is a government monopoly, their profits are many thousand dollars yearly. I am sure you all know that all the Marine Custom Houses are in charge of the white people. International law, then, does not hold good in these cases in the treatment of the so-called civilized world to the Chinese. Indeed, how true it is that might is right.

Now let us come back more directly to the missionary question. They make converts because the smarter of the Chinese find that it pays to be Christians. A Chinese Christian has great advantage over his heathen brother. If a Chinaman has a grudge against another, he first professes that he has become converted,

and then concocts a story of wrongs at the hands of the heathen, on account of his Christianity, and the missionary, backed by the power of his country, forces the courts to inflict the required punishment. These cases continue till a riot results and mission property is destroyed and probably loss of life is caused. Then the countries interested make this an excuse for forcing more lands or concessions as a punishment, until at last the great masses of the people have come to look upon the missionaries and their converts as the direct cause of all their troubles, and, in their ignorance, seek to kill the root of the evil by the process of extermination.

What China first requires is more education, the religion will follow. Now each church seeks the greater influence, and each tells the Chinese that the other is wrong. In their ignorance they cannot determine which is wrong and which is right, and so come to believe that all are wrong. You should send teachers who will first educate the people and teach religion afterwards. To teach them religion without education makes fanatics of them instead of Christians. Every Chinaman knows that not ten converts in one hundred are Christians at heart. Like their more advanced brothers, they profess Christianity because it pays, and because it gives them many advantages, protection and power. The masses of the people both hate and fear them for, with the great influence they can bring to bear, their power for evil is unlimited.

The present trouble, however, is not due to the Chinese, but to the Manchurians who have ruled the country for the last two hundred and fifty years, and whom the Chinese have been constantly plotting to overthrow. The world demands an open door in China, but what does the world offer in return? Absolutely nothing but the privilege of taking her trade and her money. This country, the most just of all to China, absolutely prohibits a Chinaman from landing on her soil. Every country demands of China privileges which would be unthought of by any other nation, the mere mention of which would be almost sufficient to cause war.

Would you cede your most valuable ports and concessions to China on account of some Chinaman being mobbed or murdered here, which has been done times without number? Do you ever hear of any one ever being punished here for mobbing a Chinaman, whose only offense was that he was trying to earn a peaceable living? The Chinese are not aggressive. They do not try to dictate to you your political or religious belief, nor do they teach you to violate the laws of your country or ridicule the belief or customs of you or your ancestors.

In China they are denied the privileges of advancement which has taken place in other countries during the last two centuries. It is but a comparatively short time since religious persecution was more openly practiced in this and other countries than it is in China

now, since people were burned for witchcraft, since slavery and polygamy were established institutions, and since wearing a queue was as much the fashion here as it is in China now. Persecution for religious belief began in China only when other nations insisted on forcing their religion upon the people. They do not understand it. Without education they do not understand why the missionary should teach them to love their enemies, and then cry so loudly for vengeance if their persons or property are molested. They are told that if smote upon one cheek they should cheerfully turn the other for the same purpose, but they do not see this beautiful spirit of humility carried out if they happen to be the ones who smite. Instead they see nothing but the iron hand of vengeance demanding an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth with compound interest.

They are taught that Christ welcomed the beggar and the outcast, but if a beggar calls at the house of most missionaries in China he must be clad in a silken gown of spotless purity or is forbidden to enter. Religion will accomplish much in China, but its advance guard must be education. The mind of a Chinese is like the mind of a child: they are unable to distinguish between theory and practice. When they are taught the beautiful precepts of the Christian religion, they expect their literal fulfillment, and not finding this they condemn it as wrong in principle and in practice. They do not understand why people disagree upon the mode of worship of the same God, and when each church tells them the others are all wrong, how can they distinguish between the just and the unjust?

First agree among yourselves as to which creed is right before trying to teach others that theirs is all wrong. Employment, education and just government are the crying needs of the country and are the only salvation of the people. If the powers will but devise means of bringing these about instead of devoting their energies to the robbery of a nation which has been plundered for centuries, it will have accomplished the greatest benefit yet brought about by modern civilization.

The Boxers originally were a patriotic society whose aim was for the government of China by the Chinese. Previous to the conquest of China by the Manchurians, China compared favorably in education, in the arts and sciences, with the rest of the world, and was in many ways far ahead, but under the present dynasty it has been the constant aim of the rulers to keep the people from becoming educated or enlightened, knowing well that should they do so it would result in a revolution which would cause their overthrow. Modern education has been constantly discouraged and the people have been taught that everything foreign was to their injury. They have been educated for centuries to believe that all foreigners were bandits and devils, and if the stories of looting and slaughter of

innocent people by the allies are anything like the truth, it will do much to confirm this belief.

China must be reformed, but it must be the work of generations to remove from the minds of the people the superstition that is the growth of centuries. Poverty, ignorance and misrule are the curse of the country, and means must be established for the removal of these conditions.

Probably no country is so rich in minerals, coal and oil, and other natural resources, but foreign capital controls all this, and its benefit to the people are as nothing. They must perform the labor at the lowest wages possible, for a mere existence, while foreigners who have forced from them these priceless concessions reap the benefit. China is regarded as the legitimate plunder of the world. Her people must give up their lands, their privileges and their government, and must pay extortionate taxes for the benefit of those who rob them.

England, at the mouth of her cannon, forced the nation to become a race of opium eaters that she might profit from the sale of her Indian opium. Since then other nations have forced from her nearly everything of value she possessed, and now I suppose the country will be divided according to the strength of the different powers, for their benefit.

I wish that time permitted my going more fully into the details of this subject, but I fear that I have already exceeded my limit, so thanking you kindly for the honor conferred upon me by asking my views of this matter, I will close by saying that I wish my knowledge of your language were sufficient to make them more comprehensible.

Adjourned.

JOSEPH W. HINER, Secretary.

ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTH MEETING

JANUARY 17, 1901

FIFTY-EIGHT PRESENT

SUBJECT:

The Suppression of Vice and Crime in Chicago

CHAIRMAN: COL. CHAS. E. FELTON

ADDRESSES BY

REV. J. P. BRUSHINGHAM

PROF. C. R. HENDERSON

MR. AUSTIN W. WRIGHT

MR. CLARENCE S. DARROW

GENERAL DISCUSSION BY

MR. SIGMUND ZEISLER

DR. JAMES E. STUBBS

MR. W. J. STRONG

MR. L. WILBUR MESSER

MR. VICTOR S. YARROS

REV. S. B. ROSSITER

DR. GEORGE M. CHAMBERLIN



ONE HUNDRED AND SEVENTH MEETING.

Held at the Palmer House, Thursday, January 17, 1901.

Fifty-eight present.

The Suppression of Vice and Crime in Chicago.

THE SECRETARY: Col. Charles E. Felton, who is to be Chairman this evening, has had some experience in suppressing vice. He was superintendent of the House of Correction of Cook County for a good many years, and while he held that office, I understand he succeeded in suppressing part of the vice of Chicago. He suppressed it by keeping it confined within the four walls of his institution. Whether it remained suppressed after it got out of his jurisdiction I do not know. Perhaps he does, and if so I am sure he will be glad to tell us.

I now have the pleasure of introducing the Chairman of this meeting, Col. Charles E. Felton.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen of the Sunset Club: I thank the worthy Secretary for the high honor he has paid me in inviting me to preside at this gathering to-night, but I fear he has made a mistake. I have been having something of an attack of gripe, and I am afraid if I use up any length of time none of you will be able to hear what I have to say. I understand the duties of the presiding officer are simply to introduce speakers. In doing so, I had intended to make some extended remarks, but shall not.

You will remember at a late republican national convention held in this city, a delegate by the name of Flannagan, of Texas, asked the question, "What are we here for?" The almost universal response was: "It is the offices we are after." Now, the Sunset Club is not after the offices. It may be after some officers of the city, however.

We are here to-night to discuss the question: "The suppression of vice and crime in the City of Chicago." Reference has been made to me as the Superintendent of a Prison. Yes, twenty-seven years and four months continuously in different prisons. We did not suppress vice only temporarily. We did not reform very many criminals.

Some years ago, in New York, a man who was called the car-hook murderer killed a citizen. He thought he had a considerable political pull, and he said to somebody who asked him as to his crime, "What are you going to do about it?" Well, we know what was done. He was tried and convicted; and the census record of New York was made one less by the execution of the man. To-night, the question is, What are we going to do about this subject of the suppression of vice and crime in Chicago?

There are four speakers who have been assigned to discuss that question for you—Rev. J. P. Brushingham, Mr. A. W. Wright, Prof. C. R. Henderson, and Mr. Clarence S. Darrow. I believe there are fifteen minutes assigned to each of the principal speakers, and five minutes thereafter for each of such other individuals as desire to address you.

I shall take pleasure in introducing to you as the first speaker Dr. Brushingham.

REV. J. P. BRUSHINGHAM: The profession which I represent is supposed to give its attention particularly to healing and helping rather than avenging and destroying or suppressing anything. The Committee with which I have the honor of being associated, has tried to justify the deeper work of our position by helping to save unfortunate victims of vice and ex-convicts in their endeavor to lead a better life, so that I think we are free from any charge of harshness. Perhaps Dr. Cuyler, of New York, expresses it, a Clergyman of the Presbyterian church, when he used to put himself right in this particular. He said that he had nothing against gamblers or drunkard makers as such. It was simply the way they made their living. It was like the Irishman and the bed bugs. He had nothing against the bed bug as a bed bug, it was only the way in which he made his living that he objected to.

The subject is the suppression of vice and crime. Some make a sharp distinction between vice and crime. Crime, such as theft, arson and murder, is said to injure other people, but vice such as drunkenness, the opium habit and gambling are personal matters. If a man wastes his own money and dissipates his own energy, it is his own business and he should not be interefered with. This line of reasoning would seem more plausible if a man lived to himself or died to himself, but when we are parts of a stupendous whole, and when we cannot eliminate the idea of association, then anything

that injures one part of the body injures the whole, so anything that injures one part of the body politic injures the whole, and the heavy weight of evil doing rests upon wife, children and family. Even if you could isolate a man from all else besides himself, even then we should be justified, I think, in sometimes protecting a man against himself as you would protect a suicide, one who would resort to quick suicide instead of the slow suicide of certain forms of vice. The strong should bear the infirmities of the weak. The line between vice and crime cannot be sharply drawn. Therefore, vice should not be permitted to blazon itself upon the main thoroughfares of a great city. The countryman who comes from where "the frost is on the pumpkin and the dew is on the vine" finds the basement abomination just as easily as the corner drug store. If one desires to satisfy a vitiated taste and find some salacious morsel, let him look for it as the vulture follows the scent of carrion rot, but let the young and unwary be in a sense protected against opportunities for vice. For

"Vice is a monster of such hideous mien,
That to be hated needs but to be seen,
But seen too oft, familiar with his face,
We first endure, then pity, then embrace."

There is some philosophy in the poetry. There are those who live upon the vices and follies of their fellow men that ought to be surrounded by some repressive measures. They ought to expect the handwriting on the wall—"Thus far shalt thou go and no further."

I believe that the midnight closing act under discussion in the City Council at the present time, and interesting perhaps in a large measure the citizens of Chicago, is a just ordinance. I believe firmly that it ought to be maintained and enforced. The midnight saloon is a rendezvous of crime. It is the place where hold-ups and thugs and robbers come together to plan future operations and to take account of stock. Every great city is infested with nocturnal birds of prey who come out under cover of night when honest folk are asleep and it is impossible to have strict police surveillance of those places as the ordinance before the Council suggests. It is impossible to determine accurately the motives of the people who stay there all night. Prima facie evidence is against those who wish to tarry in those dives throughout the entire night. During the past few weeks the midnight closing act being in force seems to accomplish what the ordinance originally intended, namely, a shorter criminal record. Suppress therefore this form of vice, the all-night basement dive, and saloon, and at the same time you suppress a vast

amount of crime. But in the interest of personal liberty, should not night workers have the same privilege as day workers? Well, there is the all-night restaurant, and then if a person is particularly in need of something stronger he can carry it with him, or in the morning before his work is done the saloons are open.

There is no ordinance but which will work oppression somewhere upon some one, but for the greatest good to the greatest number this midnight closing ought to be maintained. The fact is that bartenders and saloon keepers need a little rest. There should be a few hours of calm to settle down and brood over the throbbing heart of a great city. There should be a few hours between the activities of the day and the closing hours of the night.

The politician is being influenced by special pressure of pecuniary interests, which are being brought to bear heavily upon the aldermen at the City Hall. The politician usually will let those who want anything bad enough to make a fuss about it have it, and the midnight ordinance will, consequently, be repealed, unless there is some pressure from the other side, not that the majority of the citizens of Chicago desire the midnight ordinance repealed, but they don't want it to stay badly enough to take any deep interest in it. There is an interest in the matter of dollars and cents on the one side, but let the "powers that rule" remember and beware of a great unspoken sentiment that when it does become aroused will mean more than any merely interested expression. Who is that heavy browed, solid fellow yonder? asks a friend of Charles Sumner in the corridor of a hotel. That is Dan Webster, you had best not wake him up. I woke him up once—and so this unspoken conviction, when it is aroused, means business.

While bad men are not made good by legal enactments and while there is no regeneration in the prison cell, while there is no salvation in the policeman's club, the law is the schoolmaster of the children of the human race, at least to bring us to the higher law of love and liberty. I wish we were good enough to do without any law—wish that Chicago was as good as the sublime ideal of my friend, the philosophical anarchist. I thank God it is not bad enough so that we need lamp post rule or government by vigilantes. But what right has a public official to do what has been called, adopt a policy, either wide open or close shut? Is it not his business to enforce the law as he finds it? I want to say that there is danger in under government. There is tyranny in under government, as much as in over government, and the terrible act in Kansas, at Leavenworth, is only an example of barbarity which shows us the danger of under government. If the law is unjust, the best way to repeal it is to enforce it and make it odious. Of course these laws are not congenial to the criminal and vicious class.

No rogue e'er felt the halter draw
With good opinion of the law.

The question settles down at the final issue to the people's will as embodied in the common law, and the public officials reflect the sentiment of the people after all in the final analysis. Public officials are just about as good as the people that elect them, and perhaps average a little better, and I want to say that when the business men of this city want an uplifted municipality, want a smokeless city and a purified center they can have it. I can mention a dozen men who could bring about a revolution and uplifting in Chicago if they desired.

I wish to plead guilty for the church and philanthropic forces. I believe that we ought to furnish a substitute for the saloon—I don't mean the basement dive. I mean what might be called the legitimate saloon,—poor man's club. Mr. Stead might seem to exaggerate, but I think he told a great deal of truth when he said in Chicago the saloons meet more human wants than the churches. Fifty per cent of the people who frequent saloons do not go for what they drink, but for other conveniences that are furnished in saloons.

On the platform where I stand every Sunday, a few blocks from here, there is a five thousand dollar organ back of me which plays two hours in the week. I believe that these buildings ought to be open all the time. They ought to have music and refreshments. They ought to do what the Young Men's Christian Association is doing, but they ought to be multiplied. The city ought to be filled with those places where refreshments can be had at cost, and other privileges.

I will not trespass upon the time. I just want to say that there should be some preventive measures resorted to—prophylactic—I suppose I will have to use one or two big words to justify my position—the preventive, prophylactic remedy is the best remedy, and so next Sunday afternoon in the First Methodist Church, there is arranged a mass meeting of the Sunday School Superintendents of the City of Chicago, seven hundred of them, to be addressed by a member of this Club, Mr. Messer, and others, for the purpose of impressing those teachers of youth that they ought to instruct boys and girls against the allurements of vice and crime.

We find in working amongst the classes who are victims of vice that they do not come from the slums generally but from Sunday Schools, and refined homes. They begin on the boulevards, where vice is fashionable, and they descend to the slums where vice is made criminal. You can assign that to whichever side of this question you please. I think it is the truth, so that plain, straightforward, honest instruction should be given to the youth of the coun-

try. The fundamental reform must begin nearer the source of the stream of human life and not at the abyss where human life is destroyed and plunges over into ruin.

Chicago needs something more than an epileptic fit of virtue, a spasmodic reform that precedes every spring election. She needs a revival of civic pride and righteousness. Thus far this city has had a most marvelous record. It is not desperately wicked above all other cities of the world or of this republic. It is a great cosmopolitan center of human life, and we must be tolerant in Chicago if we hope to be progressive and successful in bringing the city to a higher plane. As in the days of imperial Augustus, citizens of 127 provinces crowded each other in the forum, so from the ends of the earth and islands of the sea representatives have come from all over the world with different predilections and customs. We must recognize this fact. Chicago is young. Think of the fact that we have 500,000 Germans, more Irish than in the City of Dublin, that gifted race who can govern everybody else but themselves. We have more Scandinavians than in the capital of Norway, more Bohemians than any city in the world except Prague, more Italians than in the famous city of Florence, besides nineteen other distinct nationalities and a few Americans sprinkled through the vast aggregation of people, and yet in 1833, three quarters of a century ago, this city was an Indian trading post, where an itinerant missionary preached to the Indians. We are close to the historic site of the Ft. Dearborn massacre.

Here where the savage war whoop once resounded,
Where council fires burned brightly years ago;
Where the red Indian from his covert bounded
To scalp his pale-faced foe.

Chicago is a great overgrown cosmopolitan baby elephant, liable to get its foot in the wrong place any time. It needs instruction, guidance and the patriotic help of the men who have grown rich and strong with its development and strength.

I say again that we need a newborn sense of civic righteousness at this very time. Progress has been made through the years past. Heaven forbid that we should reach a cul de sac of indifference and apathy. Awake, awake, oh, queenly city of the lakes, arise, shine, put on thy beautiful garments.

THE CHAIRMAN: We have listened to one of our eminent divines. He is an advocate, evidently, of philanthropic effort. I think we have in our next speaker a gentleman whom you all know, but whom no one on earth, save himself, can ever guess what he is going to say. I beg to introduce to you our friend, Mr. A. W. Wright.

MR. AUSTIN W. WRIGHT: Vice and crime do not belong in the same category. Defense against aggression is demanded even by criminals. I shall speak solely of vice.

At irregular intervals outbreaks of popular sentiment against certain special forms of vice appear. These irrational moral ebullitions are usually sporadic but sometimes become epidemic, spread over large popular areas and while the mania lasts the incontinent are subjected to unreasoning and impertinent official espionage and visitations of physical violence. When this form of emotional insanity becomes general the professionally virtuous and respectable lash themselves into a heated fervor of indignant righteousness, seize a policeman's club and with set and anger-whitened faces go forth to forcibly inculcate moral maxims and to beat natural but extravagant expressions of human desire into austere propriety.

Vices are not crimes, they are mistakes. A crime is a hurtling, aggressive act. While vices are offensive, to temperate and refined people, the purpose of the votary of vice is self-gratification and not to injure others. It is true that the power of the state has been invoked and legislative decrees have been promulgated which arbitrarily define certain forms of vice as criminal infractions, with punitive penalties imposed, but, mere legal definitions do not alter or fix the true character of human activities. The state can prescribe legal codes, but moral codes transcend its power and the sooner the superstition that refuses to recognize this fact is forever laid aside the better it will be for society. For the superstitious belief that the state can establish moral precepts by decree and forcibly guide and direct aright the course of human life is productive of infinitely more harmful results than all of the vices towards which its power is aimed.

Crusades against vice always fail to accomplish the end sought because they are directed against external expression or symptoms, while the genetic cause of vice is untouched. For instance, men get drunk. The remedy is war upon the saloon; close or destroy the saloon and the desire for drink will abate and disappear. Could anything be more irrational? Again, the sole aim is to suppress alcoholic intemperance, while it is well known that more people suffer and die early from intemperate eating than from drink. The vice of gluttony is infinitely more hurtful than drunkenness. Now suppose a number of theoretical vegetarians, who were also theoretically respectable and good, should organize and combine their efforts and go to Springfield and succeed in getting the legislature to enact a decree making it an unlawful and criminal offense to sell animal food at retail. Would the cravings of gross appetites be diminished thereby? Suppose all of the hatchet-faced, scalded-milk and graham-bread eating dyspeptics should get together and organize a crusade

against butcher shops, mince pies and "Welsh rabbits" for the purpose of protecting big-bellied gout sufferers from their own appetites and society from all of the evils born of gluttony. Would there be any sense in it? Suppose all of the sour-visaged and wry-faced women and those with moles and incipient mustaches should organize a crusade against retail dealers in fancy dry goods, millinery, jewelry and things of that character because the vanity and love of adornment was so strong in their more beautiful sisters that many of them sold their bodies to lecherous men in order that they might thus obtain the means to get and bedeck themselves with that sort of finery. Would any good come of it? Now the difference between such measures and those that are actually being employed in suppressing vice, is of degree and not in kind and only appears more irrational and absurd because in our day the state has made no attempts to regulate the eating habits of people or the manner in which they shall clothe themselves.

We are told that the good of society requires that all governmental decrees, good or bad, should be strictly enforced, but is it true? Suppose it was decreed a capital offense for anybody to prepare and eat a "Welsh rabbit" at midnight just before retiring. Would the decree change the ethical character of the act, and would it be a good thing to have such a damphool decree enforced?

It is the retail purveyors and participants in vice towards whom self-esteem and thin-lipped respectability directs repressive violence and the most cruel and merciless methods are reserved for and dealt out to the unfortunate and defenseless women who sell sexual favors by the piece. Intelligent and candid observers are not ignorant of the fact that the power for evil of the women in brothels, and upon the street, is as nothing compared with the wholesale prostitution that, unmolested, pervades every walk of life. But the minds of little white-souled, and bigoted zealots are closed to facts, they are not only intelligently blind, but they have neither charity, pity, nor mercy, nor do they seek justice; their sole aim is to rule.

The vilest and most dangerous prostitutes are not women, they are men!

In proportion to numbers engaged, and in power for evil, the newspaper profession stands pre-eminent and unapproached. Next and unapproached by others stand the lawyers. Then politicians, preachers and after them physicians, litterateurs and other professional men, every field of human activity is thronged with prostitutes and polluted by prostitution. These men are not ignorant, but they are vile for they know what they are doing. They know that government is for the sole purpose and benefit of the governors and at the expense of the governed. They lack not in wisdom, and in order that they may share in the vast plunder that is forcibly wrested

from the toiling masses through the agency of a compulsory political organization they unceasingly devote themselves to proclaiming to all through the press, from bench, bar, platform, pulpit and the hustings that it is a sublime duty to make of patriotism a cult, to profoundly venerate constituted authority, to love the flag and reverently bow and uncover in its presence, to unquestionably submit to governmental decrees and to loyally and uncomplainingly support the organization that robs and oppresses them; for this is the price of the kingdom of heaven and of the privilege of living on earth. These are the real enemies of society, while the poor women who sell sexual favors are its victims. The women are sinned against more than sinning, while the intellectual prostitutes who unceasingly teach all mankind to worship a governmental fetic and loyally support a predatory political organization induce a general and degrading obscuration of the popular understanding which causes millions of people to live lives of privation and suffering and to leave a heritage of woe to their children.

Another thing, no observer not afflicted with intellectual strabismus can be ignorant of the fact that not all of the sexual prostitutes and the lascivious are outside of the conventional married relation. Physiological facts are incontrovertible. Would-be reformers may deceive themselves and try to deceive others about them, but they can neither destroy nor arbitrarily set them aside and the more they try to do so the worse it will be for all concerned. The perpetuity of the race depends upon the sexual desire. Man comes into the world utterly incapable of self-preservation. Moreover, it is a truth that few or none would undergo the pains of extra toil, care, worry and the long years of unremitting privation involved in the rearing of children were it not for the exquisite pleasure experienced in begetting them. Marriage is not made in an unknowable beyond, nor in a church, nor in a justice shop. It is a relation induced by an impulse which springs from the reproductive desire and those who are free to follow natural inclination marry because of considerations relating to themselves; and imaginary considerations relating to public welfare, public morals or a supposed future with harps, like the flowers that bloom in spring, have nothing whatever to do with the case. The essence of marriage is that it is a consensual contractual partnership which rests upon the reciprocal desires and the mutual convenience of two persons of opposite sex. That is all there is of it and when these partners assume and provide for the liabilities born of the partnership they should be free to dissolve the same at will.

The idea that mere ceremonies, semi-religious or civil, so change the nature of things that within a relation thus sanctioned an orgasm becomes a holy ecstasy, while otherwise it is a gross carnal

pleasure is sheer poppy-cock. That the child of love, born out of conventional wedlock, should be doomed to go through life branded with the stigma of illegitimacy is a refinement of cruelty worthy of brainless demons, but not of beings endowed with powers of rationalization. Many of the noblest, truest and most glorious of women have been unwedded mothers, and the pages of history are everywhere adorned with the names of illustrious men who were born out of wedlock. Legalized concubinage is not ethically different from other forms. All children are legitimate and equally entitled to social recognition and consideration. In all of its forms, prostitution, as we know it, is an effect of the unreasoning and arbitrary dominion of man over man. It is a condition incident to what is called civilization, for it has never existed among primitive and uncivilized peoples.

Human nature must be dealt with as it is and not as holier than thou individuals suppose it ought to be. Every human being is a product of slowly aggregated forces, consisting for the most part of environing and predisposing ancestral influences and functions that have been operating and laboriously growing for countless ages. Every human being is endowed at conception with an assembly of essential desires, and these desires are of or develop into all degrees of intensity. Arbitrary rules irrationally imposed and backed up by the physical power of man are powerless to change or modify the natural impulses and expressions which spring from natural desire. The miser cannot be forced to become a spendthrift, nor can the spendthrift be forced to practice self-denying economy. The miser loves to scrimp and save; the spendthrift loves wasteful self-indulgence, and each has a profound aversion for the ideas and practices of the other. The thin blooded ascetic and the virile sybarite each looks upon the other with feelings of loathing and contempt. Neither the continent nor the incontinent are properly qualified to lay down and enforce rules of conduct for all. Individuals must join in co-operative effort for defense against aggression, but the self-gratification of personal desires, however intemperate, is not an aggressive act. If it is necessary, and therefore right, that individuals should be permitted to try and to thus succeed in life; it is also necessary and right that they should be permitted to try and to fail. True governing forces emanate from the nature of things; virtue brings physical and intellectual vigor, longevity and happiness; vice brings weakness, pain and early death. Nature affords a sure and true remedy for evil.

Vice is very shocking to all whose minds and desires are well balanced. But the employment of physical force as a deterrent and corrective does not cure but intensifies moral disease; it degrades and brutalizes alike and still further corrupts both user and victim.

Witness the bribery and official blackmail everywhere existent in large cities. The utmost that can be done with repressive physical violence is to drive vice from public places into out of the way and secluded places, where it becomes infinitely more dangerous socially than before. Vice unhidden is hideous and repellent, but under cover it takes on various attractive features. Inexperienced youth is keenly curious and easily impressed. Concealment excites within them a romantic piquancy that becomes quite irresistible.

While it is true that vice wrecks the lives of many, it is also true that nobody ever starts for hell with a brass band and over the public and main traveled road; they all make the start from secluded lanes and byways, working quietly, sometimes swiftly, more often gradually, into the broad public highway. People who lead clean and wholesome lives have nothing to fear from vice if they will but let it alone, for when left free to follow the bent of natural inclination individuals with like tastes and affinities invariably seek each other's presence and assemble together, and the division between the straight and the crooked becomes clearly and sharply defined. Vice is diminishing, not increasing. Its votaries and victims are short-lived; they seldom curse society with children, for seed will not germinate in soil that is constantly agitated, and if it does, growth is puny and short-lived. Persuasive and advisory appeals to reason are the sole agencies that may be rightfully and usefully employed. These tried and failing, social duty and obligation is discharged. Let them depart and go their way in peace.

THE CHAIRMAN: I said that no person could possibly tell what the gentleman might have to say. He is very frank in his expressions, as you have seen, and the Chair has neither the inclination nor the time to combat them, if in error.

We have as our next speaker Prof. Henderson, of the University of Chicago. He probably is as close a student of psychological questions as any gentleman in this part of the country. He knows the teachings of all of the greater writers, and I think that he will give us an address we may listen to with very much interest, as I know something of his views. I presume he will also furnish us some remedies for the tendencies of the abnormal and degenerate classes. I am pleased to introduce to you Prof. Henderson.

PROF. C. R. HENDERSON: In the few minutes at my disposal it will only be possible for me to throw out a few suggestions. I think all that I need to assume is that we all of us here seek to have at least ordinarily decent standards of Christian good citizenship, and I think that we may assume that in the case of most of us we believe in government, we believe in law, that the government is instituted

in this country and its purpose is to guard the interests of all, the strong and the weak; that no one is so weak or wicked as to be below the protecting shield of law, and no one stands so high above us as not to have some relations and obligations to it. That is at least the ordinary conception of our relations to government. Wherever a law is commended by the good judgment of a great majority of the people, it is the ordinary belief that it ought to be enforced and so far I think most of us will be in favor of enforcing the law. It is the principle of our government that not merely the sworn officials of the government have an obligation to enforce that law, while it is on the statute book, but it is just as much your duty and mine to assist them in that as it is their duty to enforce it. They have certain special sworn obligations which we as private citizens have not, but wherever we see the law violated it is our duty to see that it is enforced. That is the right and duty of every private citizen, if he sees the law is not as good as it might be, in his judgment, to try to persuade his fellow men to have it changed. It is in this way that the anti-social instincts of men have been brought under the common rule of the common good through the centuries. By the growth of a better sentiment, better customs and the passing and enforcement of better laws we have at least in some measure put the brute under and put the man on top. That is the function of law and that is the duty and office of government, and so far, while there may be a great many other things that are extreme and fanatical, at this present moment, I believe—and we are here to express individual judgments and have them tempered by the criticism of others—I believe that the majority of earnest men and women, not hypocrites, but honest men and women, if ever so misguided, are seeking to do what you and I believe in most respects ought to be done. If the law is not good, let us unite and try to put it off of the statute book.

Dead laws do a great deal of injury. They produce reaction against the law itself. While it is there it is the will of the people. It should be honored and respected. It should be enforced or removed in the ordinarily constitutional and legal means. That seems to me the sum and substance of it. When we use the word "suppression" in respect to vice and crime we use a word which we all understand is stronger than we mean to use for practical purposes. It is nothing new, and it is hard to say anything new to such an intelligent company as this, but I think we may emphasize some convictions and find courage to express them.

Turning away from the simple question of the enforcing of the law, what lies back in the customs and conditions of the people that causes vice and crime? The open saloon in my judgment is one of these causes, the non-enforcement of the law, the practical part-

nership, if there is any such existing, between the police and the houses of prostitution. That in itself is a cause of lawlessness because it is lawlessness, and all of these agencies that are connected with the abuse or the neglect or the excess in respect to law, all of these are causes of crime.

This is a good time for us to study the deep underlying causes which produce these vices and crimes. The distinction between vice and crime is only a question of degree and extent and of its virulence and the amount of pain which can be inflicted upon others. A man can no more commit a vice without affecting his fellow men than he can commit a crime, and thousands of women and children suffer from the infamous vices of men, and if it is not a crime it is simply because it has not been put upon the statute book. The distinction is a vanishing one. If we cannot reach them by the rough machinery of the law, then we should appeal to education and civilization. We must reach them or our civilization perishes.

With some of the remarks of the gentleman just preceding me I agree, and some of them I resent, and for my own self-respect I desire—with great gratitude to the gentleman for the very keen things which he has said that were true—to enter my protest. This is a very good time once more to emphasize the fact which Dr. Christopher did so much to emphasize. We must learn and teach the causes which lie in misery, the causes of vice and crime that lie in poverty, the causes that lie in the neglect of industrial and technical education and indeed the causes that lie in the over-crowded houses and the idleness and neglect of children in the streets and alleys during our long summers and the neglect by parents of their own children. One interesting fact has come to me through my investigations, and it has come to me with a very great inspiration of hope, studying the Jewish family—I have had in my studies naturally to study a great many statistics and reports—rarely do you come upon a Jewish criminal in a prison. Rarely do you come upon a Jewish prostitute in the street. Gentlemen, is it because they are not human beings? Is it because they have not the same tendencies as others? Is it because in certain districts of this city they also are not poor and crowded? I can take you myself to Jewish homes in this city as poor as any in the world, and friends of mine who are here and know a great deal more about it than I do, will corroborate me in this. I am glad to render this testimony from my own standpoint that in some of the most poverty stricken regions in this city and New York and Philadelphia there is a degree of purity, of chastity, of self control, among the Jewish people, which in my mind verges upon the miraculous, and it seems to me that we should study Jewish society. I do not pretend to understand the whole sum of it. I wish I understood it better than I do, but I think I see

something of it and the something I do see is that in the poor home sometimes where the City of Chicago has neglected its duty and the children are compelled to drag mud into the home, that has been swept and washed for the Sabbath, even in such a place as that, the father and mother with the religious instincts and traditions of a great race, with a vitality that is astonishing, teach their little boys and girls and impress them with these things so that they become neither criminals nor prostitutes. Is it because a Jew is not a man? No, because he is a man, I find hope for other nationalities and races.

I don't believe that vice is necessary. I protest against the insinuation and the suggestion that some men's daughters must be prostituted so that some men's sons may remain outwardly respectable. I don't believe in that. There are a great many people who find it unnecessary to indulge in these vices. I don't refer to the clerical celibates, but I refer to men who honor the marriage relation equally as much as other men on earth, and show it in their health and tremendous vitality under the most discouraging circumstances.

If I had time I should like to make missionaries for some of the great causes, which some of us are interested in, by which we can work directly and indirectly in undermining the evils which we are considering to-night. One of them is the movement of the laboring men, those who organize so that they may get more wages. While I am not speaking humorously just now, it seems to me that it is among the possibilities that some day our capitalists will become so wise and intelligent that instead of trying to break down the trades union movement, they will try to guide it and inspire it. That has already been done in some parts of the earth. It simply needs to be made universal. Instead of sending representatives to fight against the efforts of the working men, send representatives there to co-operate with them so that the good of all may be served. We are not contending simply for a class, but for national life, because now the struggle for existence is not between individuals and classes, it is between nation and nation, between America and England, between America and Germany, and the nation that neglects its poor and allows them to grow up in ignorance and filth, that nation will lose its creating and productive energies. It is a question of national life, and while this goes on the helpless will have lost strength and energy to lift themselves above others.

So I might speak of the visiting work of the Bureau of Charities, and one after another of those efforts that are being put forth to improve our common citizen, the opening of baths and places where our boys, instead of violating the law, in going out naked into the lake, or forbidden pools, will have clean places to bathe in and quiet down their nerves in the summer time, and will be less exposed to

vice and crime. So in regard to the children out in the streets, idle in the summer time, vacation schools could be opened at the expense of private persons. All the yards around the public schools ought to be open with their playgrounds. But you say it would destroy their health. I don't believe in a system of education that cannot be continued through the year with the great mass of our young children under thirteen and fourteen, where the teacher goes out into the open and teaches them, and our vacation schools have already taught us the lesson that we can constantly improve them.

We need to take all of these interests into our minds and hearts. The old doctrine of Calvinism taught that there were some of the elect. It is a great responsibility to belong to the elect class. It means a responsibility of the men that have, as you have, brain and power and intelligence. It is a good thing for you to do as you are doing, to take into your thought, even at the banquet, those for whom life's banquet is not spread, and where there is no room for them at the feast. That is what you are after. If I can look into your minds and hearts and consciences to-night, it is that you have made up your minds to see what can be done. Not what is possible far away in the millennium, but what you and I can do in the next five or ten years in practical, simple ways.

When anybody tells me that he has a panacea that will cure all the evils that flesh is heir to, then I set him down as a quack. When a man wants to treat me on those terms and says the cure is all in one bottle, then I say he needs to pass his examination again. All that we can do consists in certain concrete things, one after the other, taken up, studied carefully and worked out, and one more thing that will help us is the co-operation of public sentiment.

Let us stand by Judge Tuthill and the work he is doing. Let us stand for unity, for there is always danger of reaction unless there is constant attention to those matters. Let us stand by those probation officers and uphold them by every possible means for that is not sustained by public funds, but private enterprise. Let us see that those officers are trained for their high and holy social tasks, so that as they are working in the community they may go carrying with them the highest standard of social morality. One of the finest positions occupied by any gentleman on the bench is that task on which some men look as if it were a very humble one, but it is one of the loftiest and most sublime in our generation, the task of sitting there in the name and representing the dignity of a great state and nation and dealing out justice, organized, intelligent justice to those little ones one after another, following them out by these missionaries, the probation officers, into their homes, seeking to change the environment from the bad which is destroyed to the good which may help.

These are some of the things, simple illustrations of the law that suppression is impossible, mitigation, alleviation, improvement is good. I am not a pessimist, I am an ameliorist and not a pessimist, but I do believe that with law we cannot accomplish all that we would like to see done. May we so live that in the next generation there will not be so much vice and crime as there is in ours.

THE CHAIRMAN. We have listened to a very elegant and eloquent plea for higher and better educational influences. It seems to me his reference to Judge Tuthill and his work should be thought of,—should be studied and should be supported, and that the effort and work should not be simply that of philanthropic people, but government itself should give its strongest and best support to it.

Our next speaker will be Clarence S. Darrow. You all know of him, and I am sure that you will be very much pleased, because you will be very much instructed when he presents to you his views upon this subject.

MR. CLARENCE S. DARROW: In discussing a question as serious as this we should have only the purpose of seeking either to shed some light or to receive some light, or both, and if I could compliment my adversary as gracefully as he did my assistant, I would be glad to do it, and to say how much I appreciated the many valuable suggestions which I have found in his well thought out talk. Toward him I feel, however, as he did to my assistant, that there are some things to which I must dissent. However, I will say that it is rare from my standpoint, and we all measure these things necessarily from our own standpoint, that we find one who argues a question of this sort from what may be termed the conventional side and who argues it with the breadth and learning that was shown in his address.

I would differ with my brother upon the first proposition that he makes, that the law is an institution that exists to correct evils and to help the rich and poor alike. Whatever the law may be theoretically, which is not a matter of discussion, practically the law is a luxury which is bought and sold in the marts of the world like any other luxuries for cash. It can only be invoked by the aid of money, and the man who pays the most for the protection of the courts and the protection of the law, receives the most protection from the courts and from the law. That is the plain fact, whatever theory there may be upon the question. It is used like everything else in this world, by the strong. Used as a club, used for any purpose for which they need it, and like everything else in this world, the man who is the strongest is the best able to use it.

How does that affect the question under discussion? In this

way: The law as it exists to-day is enforced by a class. It is made for a class. It is made for the strong, for the ruling class. It is made for the powerful, and the great, exactly as the leaders in olden times, appropriated to themselves the strongest clubs for their personal use—nothing else.

I must dissent radically from the opinion expressed that there is any such thing as crime in the sense in which crime is ordinarily understood by men. These men who infest our jails and who live in our workhouses are not criminals. They are like you and like me. They are men who have found themselves in that position of life where all the avenues of existence are closed to them, and where they reach out the best they can to get that which will sustain life for a little while longer—nothing else. They are not criminals. These men are born in a state of society where a very few men own and control everything upon the face of the earth. These few men make all the rules of the game under which we live, and they cannot be criminals because they make the rules of the game. Therefore they can violate no law. It is easier to make the law conform to their conduct than to make their conduct conform to the law, and so long as they make both the conduct and the law there is no need that they be criminals; but under the rules of the game established by the strong and powerful, here are the countless millions of the earth, the weak and the poor and the helpless, who have no bread to eat, excepting they commit crime, that is, that they violate the rules and the customs of the class who make the law.

That is no new doctrine. It has been announced over and over and over again in the history of the world. It was more than fifty years ago that Buckle, the great English historian and philosopher, tabulated the crimes in England, gathered the statistics and showed that the number of crimes increased and diminished in England exactly in proportion as the price of bread went up and down. Every time the beef trust in Chicago raises the price of meat they send a certain number of poor people to the penitentiary and the jail; and every time another penny is put upon the price of oil it sends some poor girl away from her needle and away from her room and upon the street in the cold to earn her living by pandering to the lust of man. The men who control the rules of the game under which we live, these are the only ones who can commit crime, that is, any crime that is worth considering.

We have other illustrations. The world is full of them, but men will never look. Australia was settled by convicts and prostitutes. A portion of America was settled by them, men who were so bad in their own country that they were driven from their home, and they became good, respectable, honest citizens, and in the second generation they were building churches and hiring policemen for

themselves. You may take a thousand burglars from the midnight saloons of Chicago and a thousand prostitutes from the dives of the city and send them where there are no monopolies, no landlords, where each person has a free chance to live, and an equal opportunity, and the descendants of those criminals and prostitutes will be respectable, self-respecting citizens. It has been done over and over and over again in the history of the world, and you may take the best men and best women, so-called, and surround them with those conditions where they cannot make the rules of the game under which they live, and they will break the rules of the game. Deprive them of the right to live, and this will constitute them criminals.

I do not care much for the distinction between vice and crime. It is a shadowy line. It is a shadowy line between the highest and most praiseworthy act of the noblest soul that ever lived and the act of the lowest so-called criminal. It is a shadowy line all the way down, and when you come to judge the morals of men it is a very, very, difficult task.

But addressing ourselves distinctly to the question of vice, there are some things which cannot be overlooked. I would leave the saloon running wide open day and night. I do not care to get a drink at one o'clock in the morning, but then I do not care to get a drink at any other time; so that if I were to consult my personal convenience I might as well close them all the time. I would leave the basement saloons alone and let the women congregate. Let me tell you this, none of you may believe it, but all the same it is true. Society for ages and ages has left woman with just one profession, and that profession is to get her living from man. Mankind have appropriated every calling and all the fruits of the earth and left woman to pander to his tastes, some in one way and some in another, and she gets her living out of man. I would leave these unfortunate sisters to do the best they can with their lives. It is none too easy, and the more fortunate need not hold their skirts too closely about them. It will not hurt nor contaminate them to know how their sisters live in this hard, cruel world, which sends so many out to commit crime. Of course prostitution as prostitution is wrong, not criminal. It is wrong in this way. As my friend has said, the instincts of the sex are planted deep in man or else the human race would long since have died out. Prostitution, however, is another thing. So long as the instincts of men and women are left free to act and men and women are brought together purely by choice very little evil can result. Nature looks out for that. Nature lops off on one hand the profligate and on the other the ascetic, and leaves only the medium to survive and to build up society, and nature needs no help. When man commences to tinker with the immutable eternal laws of nature he makes a very bad job of it indeed. But prostitution means a trade.

It means that the woman without love, without feeling, goes out and offers her body to a man for cash. This is born of two desires, first the lust of man which needs no help, and next the hunger of woman. Prostitution is a crime, but not the crime of the poor woman who has only her body to sell, but the crime of the society in which this woman lives, which leaves her nothing to sell except her body. She sells to the one who bids most and as long as society leaves her nothing but that to do, they will have to provide a clearing house for this traffic as you would provide a clearing house for the gamblers on the Board of Trade, in the Stock Exchange, or the national banks.

I cannot accept with the same enthusiasm my friend's views of the juvenile court. It is an indictment against the civilization in which we live that there should be a juvenile court. A child is not a criminal. Children tell the truth. They do not steal. They are honest until the contaminating touch of man sends them to the juvenile court.

Neither can I accept my friend's statement as to the Jewish race. I have never examined statistics, but I am sure they are not true. If they are, they do not prove what he says. Jews are no more chaste than other people. If they were it would prove nothing. They may steal less, and stealing, mind, means taking goods against the rules of the game, nothing more nor less. The Jew may be less courageous and he may be more cunning. He may be sharper at getting a living. Those are the only reasons, if any exist, why he is different from his fellow man.

The criminal has a place in the world and a mission in the world, as a great English philosopher and writer has pointed out. These same despised criminals, these hold-up men which society makes, these men who have no ground to stand upon and no food to eat and who reach out and get a living the best they can, are teaching the example to mankind that in this world no people have a right to monopolize the earth; that in this world all men have a right to live, and these same prostitutes, this same philosopher has pointed out, have lived to teach the lesson of freedom to woman and of the right independent of society and independent of customs and laws of restraint, to do what they will with their own.

No good can be accomplished by repressive legislation. You may think that these things of which we speak are crimes or sins, or call them what you will, but back of all is the instinct of man, is the heart of man, and you must first cure the body of the desire. Give the human race a chance to live. Give them liberty and the crimes will vanish and fade away. I believe in amelioration, but I would have that amelioration which would not force a girl to work for five dollars a week in a department store. There is but one

thing left for her to do. I would have that amelioration which gives every honest man and woman a share in the earth and a chance to live and work, and these crimes and vices would vanish, and the lawyers and policemen and jails would fade away.

THE CHAIRMAN: Gentlemen, only one remark of the speaker I desire to call attention to, and that is in relation to the court that Judge Tuthill presides over. My remark had special reference to the probation feature of its work. I have no sympathy whatever with imprisoning the youth, not even in the so-called reformatories of the state, or the county, or in private asylums, unless as a last resort. I do not think much reform comes from imprisonment in any of them; but I do think that there are often children brought into that court, which may be placed in the hands of probation officers, and then into homes; and those children, if they are cared for and educated as they should be, will not be a burden to themselves nor a menace to the people; and vice will not be a portion of their lives. I only had reference to that part of Mr. Darrow's remarks.

Gentlemen, we have arrived at that stage of our proceedings when five minute addresses will be accepted.

MR. SIGMUND ZEISLER: The thought has come to me while listening to the speeches of those whom we have heard, as happens very often at the Sunset Club, as the discussion goes on, we find ourselves wandering more and more away from the subject announced. We have heard a very fine philosophical argument on the subject of free love. And we have heard a splendid elaboration of it and the practical question which I suppose was in the mind of the secretary when he formulated the subject for discussion has not been touched upon.

The practical question that confronts us in Chicago is that there is supposed to be a laxity in the enforcement of certain laws. With that is coupled a suspicion that certain classes in the community habitually violate certain laws and are protected in the commission of their violations of the law by those whose duty it is to enforce laws. If that suspicion has any support in the facts, it seems to me that it is a very important matter for good citizens to consider how such a protection of crime can be done away with. I have personally no knowledge on the subject as to whether this suspicion is well founded or not. There has been a good deal of agitation on the subject of the midnight closing ordinance.

With some of the remarks of the philosophical anarchists to whom we have listened, I might possibly agree as a matter of theory, as a matter of ideal legislation, of society on some planet or in some century, some millions of years hence, but I have been brought up

in a school which believes that if a law is obnoxious let it be enforced vigorously. Let all its obnoxious qualities be brought into bold relief by a most vigorous enforcement of the law. Let it be so obnoxious that the people will demand the repeal of the law. I have absolutely no patience with the idea that if a law that we find on the statute books is in accordance with public sentiment or public opinion it should be enforced, but if it is supposed to be out of harmony with public opinion or sentiment that it silently be permitted to get into desuetude. I think no such distinction should be made. I believe that if the people permit a law to remain on the statute book without enforcing it that it demoralizes society. There is absolutely no way for a person to find out what infractions of a law will be condoned by public sentiment and what infractions will not be condoned. Everybody is supposed to know the law. That is one of the maxims of the law, and one of the greatest humbugs in the law. Still less is it possible for any man to find out what is really public sentiment and what is not unless one deceives himself by the idea that what he reads in the newspapers is an expression of public sentiment.

So far as the suppression of vice generally is concerned I don't believe that vice can be suppressed by any forcible measures or by laws. I don't believe that man can be made good or virtuous by laws. Men can only be made good and virtuous by education and some such methods as Prof. Henderson has detailed to us in the merest outline.

I have a good deal of sympathy with the views expressed by Mr. Wright and by Mr. Darrow, but so far as the social evil is concerned I cannot entirely agree with Prof. Henderson, who I believe is a thorough idealist and who does not reckon with hard facts. Men are possessed of certain instincts which cannot easily be suppressed, and our social positions are not such that those desires can always be curtailed. I have no faith in the hypocrisy that does not recognize these conditions. I am frank enough to say that I believe in the amelioration of the social evil.

MR. W. J. STRONG: I have listened with a great deal of pleasure to-night, and it seems to me, except in the slightest way the question that should be touched upon by this club has not been considered. If you are going to suppress a thing the first thing to find out is, what is the cause of that thing, and unless you get the cause, it is useless to offer temporary measures. The doctrinaires who have talked to you about it and handled this question with kid gloves are like the man who had a beautiful fruit tree dying at the ends of the branches and he went along with the shears and cut off the branches, while all the trouble was at the root of the tree, and when you talk about educating men, it seems to me it is a viola-

tion of the principles of law. We heard about preventive measures and having the Sunday school superintendents getting together, and then instructing the youth very early in life, and then to have the saloons closed at midnight, and then he says that the business men can purify the city if they want to. Now we come to the doctrinaire who has studied from his standpoint seriously and honestly. He speaks of the purpose of government to protect the weak. He barely touched upon the subject there, and then he speaks of the cause of prostitution, and then he speaks of charities to relieve these things, the causes that lie in misery and poverty and over-crowded houses and he speaks of the Jewish race. Right upon the Jewish race, I think the question of the Jewish race touches the key-note of what I believe is the trouble. What we say is vice or crime is poverty superinduced by commercial greed, and that is the whole thing.

Are these men and women who hunt places of vice naturally vicious? Do they go there from a matter of choice or necessity? Mr. Darrow says they have to live. There are a few who are natural degenerates, but that is a class that we are not complaining against, but those that are made degenerates by reason of these social conditions. Do they go there from choice or necessity, and if by necessity what makes it a necessity for them to go there? Lack of opportunity to earn an honest livelihood. What causes the lack of opportunity? Monopoly of everything that the earth furnishes. Then again laws are passed in the interests of those who have property, preventing others from the accumulation of sufficient means to support themselves by our taxation in this country, taxing people for the things that they need and allowing the wealthy to escape taxation on the wealth that they have. Every poor man is taxed upon everything that he eats and wears, and by your infamous tariff laws you say to the man of the great respectable element of this country, that he can have anything he wants, supporting an administration that is in favor of a high protective law, to make poverty among the masses.

Right in your city here it has been my fortune to come across another one of the vices, the determination of the corporations of this country that will make a subject race of the people of this country. The employes of some of our great millionaires, who give so much to charity and whose names are lauded in the papers for their philanthropy blacklist girls because they will not subject themselves to the will of their master—girls in the packing house driven out of the only trade they know into the department store.

I want to tell you a little story that illustrates the idea. An English workman on passing home was walking across the land of one of these men they call a belted Earl. The Earl yelled, "Get off my grass." The man replied, "Well, if I get off your grass I will have to get on to somebody else's and I don't want to get off the

earth," and he says, "By the way, who did you get this from?" The Earl said, "I got it from my ancestors." "How did your ancestors get it?" "They fought for it." "Very well," said the working man, "I will fight you for it." The thing will come yet. If they don't stop taking these things away from the people we will have to fight them.

MR. VICTOR S. YARROS: About six or eight years ago this Club had exactly the same subject for discussion and I was one of the speakers. You had a crusade against vice, and I judge it wasn't suppressed then. I was very much younger then than I am now and believed in preaching. I am afraid I have lost a good deal of that innocent faith, and yet to-night, considering the four leading speakers, I am struck by the very remarkable fact that there is so much fundamental agreement. I had expected a rather rabid advocacy of absolute suppression on the part of our friend, Dr. Brushingham, and yet the toleration which pervaded his speech is really extraordinary. He doesn't believe in suppression, and he believes decidedly in substitution. He believes it to be the duty of the church to provide substitutes, and Dr. Henderson, in his very able speech, while denying as a philosophical proposition the distinction between vice and crime, which denial I in turn deny, he practically admitted that in battling with it it is necessary to apply a practical distinction. In the case of crime he would apply the rough hand of the law, but with reference to vice he would employ the delicate agency of appeal to public opinion, to sentiment and the best elements in human nature.

Society has made the discovery in the course of centuries that legal remedies against vice aggravate the evil, and that legal remedies against crime to some extent do remove crime. In the doctrine of passive resistance which was ably advocated by our friend Mr. Darrow, I do not believe. In the existence of fundamental social evils productive of crime I do believe, and no man with his eyes open can possibly deny it. But apart from this we must all admit that in any possible condition of society, free from monopoly and crime-producing causes, crime might exist, due perhaps to hereditary and individual characteristics, not depending on social injustice, and in that case I think preventive and suppressive remedies are perfectly proper. Society has the right to protect itself simply because every individual has that right. There is no objection against the enforcement of laws against crime. With reference to vice, the more you try to remove it the more you produce. That is a practical discovery which society has made with great reluctance. For that reason, then, such men as Prof. Henderson admit that in fighting it we have to draw this distinction between the rough hand of the law and the delicate agency of appealing to sentiment in dealing with vice.

In reference to vice, I think that the best remedy and most effective remedy is to absolutely let it alone. Here the good old doctrine holds, and bishops of the church, like Bishop Potter, practically admit in theory that the best way to suppress vice is non-interference on the part of the state with saloons. There is no reason why even licenses should be required of saloons, and there is no reason for distinction between night and day in regard to this matter. The best remedy is non-interference. That would abolish at once all criminal alliances which exist between the police and the cheapest resorts. Everybody talks about Tammany and Philadelphia. Our Grand Juries have intimated that plenty of evidence was produced before them that blackmail is levied here, and will continue to be levied as long as we put a club in the hands of those people. You say it is the duty of an officer not to adopt a policy but to enforce the law as it is. I think that is a very sound doctrine, and if I myself were elected executive officer of a city, I would enforce the laws as I found them, but what are the facts? Isn't it a fact that every state and city has more laws on the statute books than can possibly be enforced? Isn't it a fact that perhaps eighty per cent of the laws are dead letters? Is it because all the officials are vicious? Is it not a fact that laws not sanctioned by public sentiment will not and cannot be enforced? Don't you know that after the spring election this movement will die out and things will go on precisely as before, and why? Not because the Mayor is unlike any other mayor, not at all, but because it is a downright fact of ordinary human experience that laws not sanctioned by the ordinary intelligence of the people will not be enforced. What is an official? One who is given a very brief authority. What is his power if he isn't backed? Any law that is not immediately sanctioned by public sentiment soon dies. For that reason we recognize the simple fact that they do not enforce it because these laws are impossible to enforce, and if you wish to abolish this blot, remove these restrictions.

DR. JAMES E. STUBBS: I came here to listen and learn, and one thing I have learned is that our ancestors were all prostitutes and the balance of them were thieves and vagabonds, and that high tariff is the cause of all crime. I have heard this stated in regard to the Jews, that they are more virtuous. My position for the last thirty years has brought me in contact with a great many people who are liable to go astray. I never have yet met a Jewish prostitute among the women. I can't say as much for the male Jew, but of the female I can. There must be a reason somewhere that the Jewish women are not given to that as much as the Gentiles. I attribute it to the home life, the principles taught at home. Their women

are so brought up when they are girls that they are virtuous. Neither have I ever met a prostitute but one who went into the business of prostitution of her own free will. They almost always go into it because they have been seduced. They are not driven into it by the employer who cuts wages down, because there are plenty of others that are getting no greater wages, and they are leading lives of virtue.

I believe that you cannot suppress crime by enacting a law to make a man good. This trying to suppress a crime under full headway is like stopping a horse by catching his tail when he is running away. You must begin with childhood and youth. Who are our criminal boys? Why are they criminals? Who is the cause of it? There are more boys sent to the devil from home influences and home training than any other causes, in my way of thinking. If the boy and girl are brought up as they are brought up in the Jewish families, you would find the girls among the Gentiles as virtuous as among the Jews. The Jews are one people where virtue stands at the head of the household. The girls and boys are taught it. They break over many times, but I dare say that if you take this city of Chicago you will find less Jewish men and women leading lives of infamy than any other class of people. We may say they may be more apt and cunning in making a livelihood. Why? Because they have been driven to it in days past.

This ordinance has been presented in the Council:

"That no keeper or proprietor of any saloon, bar-room or dram shop in the City of Chicago, or employe of such owner, shall suffer or permit any woman or women of reputed immoral character to be or remain in any such saloon or dram shop at any time." If a woman is bad she is much worse than a man. Why exclude a woman from the saloon and not exclude a man? They pay as much taxes as the majority of the men. Who are the tax payers and voters? I dare say there are many of this audience who don't pay a dollar of taxes. I take the position that no man has a right to vote if he doesn't support the government, and yet if he is held up at night he wants the police to protect him. If his house is on fire he wants the fire department to help him. He will perjure himself before the assessor to get out of paying his stipend. I say it is a shame for any man to do that. The suppression of vice and crime should begin in the household and in the family circle.

MR. L. WILBUR MESSER: I have been forced to study this subject for some years in dealing particularly with young men from the heart of the city. Some considerations have confronted me which have set me to thinking. I find that the saloon, as I understand it, promotes crime. I get it from the testimony of young men

who frequent those places. I get it from reading the daily papers, and I think that they are our guides in some things, if not in all. I get it by observing what goes on about me from day to day. I believe that the saloon is one of the greatest promoters of crime in the City of Chicago. It is the rendezvous of thieves and criminals, the breeding place of anarchy and the greatest curse of society. There are probably 32,000 men in this city in the saloon business, giving their entire time to it, proprietors, day men, night men, bar tenders, porters and others, who make their living out of this business, and it is their business to teach men to drink, and the result of that drink I think, gentlemen, if carried to excess, you will agree with me, has to do with the making of the criminal class. It takes away a man's livelihood, and unfits him for his daily work. It leads him from one step to another to commit acts of crime and you will find that the men who are in the bridewell and prison and in our courts, without exception almost, are men who are frequenters of the saloon, and I believe that when we allow vice to walk through our streets in the form of prostitutes without check or bridle, and when we allow open places of resort of this sort in the heart of the city, that every man and woman must pass, I believe it is a temptation in the pathway of every young man that tends to immorality and vice on his part; that it takes away the truer principles of manhood.

I believe the cheap lodging house has to do with crime in this city. There are many other things that have to do with those conditions. There are three things I believe in, and the first of these is an agitation that will acquaint the people with the facts as they exist.

It was my good fortune to live for some years in Cambridge, Massachusetts. We had the open saloon in that city, licensed. There were some people who thought it was a curse to the city, and they had meetings in the churches and public halls, Protestant and Catholic, Jew and Gentile, every one united, fourteen years ago, and what happened? That agitation you may say was the work of reformers and would pass away in a little time, but the next spring election, in a separate ballot, "yes or no," apart from all political affiliations, the city went five hundred majority for no license. Mayor Russell believed in straight license, but said, "If that goes by one vote, the law will be enforced," and it was enforced, and the society that was organized at that time exists to-day. The city government and the members of that society have worked in unison, and while I take issue with many of the things that my friends stand for in the third party, which I don't belong to, I do believe that in any community—and I almost believe in the City of Chicago—that it is possible to arouse public conscience so that what was done in Cambridge can be done in this city; that the evil can be crushed out. That has

been done every year since for thirteen successive years. The City of Cambridge hasn't an open saloon, and you go there and study the records, and ask whether there is an improvement or not. I believe that there should be preventive agencies and the educational features which will teach the citizen how to act and restrain themselves, but we need the two.

REV. S. B. ROSSITER: I would like to call to the attention of all of you an old story which I believe was divinely authorized. A father had two sons and the younger one said to his father, "Give me that portion of goods that falleth to me," and the father divided unto them his living, and the young man went away, following the bent of his own inclinations, living as he thought he ought to, and the result of it was he came to live among swine, and then finally when he got to the last end he said, "I am a fool; I am a sinner," and the sense of wrong, wrong, the word which has been used on both sides of this controversy to-night, arose in the young man's conscience and the law that produced the sense of wrong in the young man's heart. There is no power beneath the stars that can abide that law of God. It is eternal. And the young man said, "I have sinned against heaven and in my father's sight, and I will go back;" there was another boy who staid at home and took care of the father's property and who was jealous, intolerant, selfish, and he was wrong, and the sense of wrong was awakened in his conscience also, and he needed repentence. It seems to me that that old story in the old gospel of Luke fits the conditions in which we are to-night. In a sense it is true, that a man can live according to the bent of his own inclination, but he gets to a point where he feels he is wrong, and just there comes in the great remedial agency which is divine. There is something in this world more than civil law. There is a supernatural, and it is the supernatural breathing in upon men that awakens in them a desire to return to a condition in which there will be no sin and no crime.

This is a new city, only seventy-five years of age, a great overgrown boy. I have heard the expression used since I have been in this city, so many times, and I believe when this great overgrown boy comes to be a man some of the opinions expressed here to-night will have disappeared.

DR. GEO. M. CHAMBERLIN: It was not with any anticipation of saying anything that I came to-night, being a guest here; but I am interested deeply in the remarks of the gentlemen present. I know by reputation all of the gentlemen who have spoken here. I have been a resident of this city for forty years, and I have had quite an experience as a boy and a man in this city, and have seen

it grow to its present wonderful proportions; and I have had some experience in the way of coming in contact with all classes of people, both rich and poor.

I can see no way to alleviate the conditions existing in this city or any other great city, only by purifying, and educating, and by the employment of the people.

I have had the pleasure of the acquaintance of your chairman for nearly a quarter of a century, and have seen a great many things that he has been able to accomplish. It was one of the regrets of my life that he resigned from the position he held. I think for twenty years he did more good in the city of Chicago than all the preachers combined during that time.

DR. BRUSHINGHAM: That was before my time wasn't it?

DR. GEO. M. CHAMBERLIN: Yes, it was. I would like to have him tell you the people that have been sent back to him and back to him, until ultimately they were not returned to him because they believed in him, and because he advised them, and because he showed them, and assisted them as to how they could assist themselves.

Now it is ignorance largely that drives people to crime, because they are helpless, and do not know how to protect themselves. When I came here, after coming back out of the army—I had been here before—there were two hundred criminal boys down here at Forty-third street, sentenced to an institution, and they were supposed to be kept there for the purpose of reformation. The superintendent at that time, which was about five years before that place was abolished, was a friend of mine, and I was called down there many times to see these boys, and see members of his family. Among those boys was a very bad, wicked boy, that had no history. He was a waif, and no one knew where he came from. He was under a sentence, and was so vicious that, after his time had expired, they did not release him, and the superintendent kept him. The boy was bright and very intelligent, and seeing him under the watchful care of the superintendent at that time, he interested me. That was thirty years ago, and I became interested in the boy, and began to talk with him, and finally I made a proposition to the superintendent to let me have him; but he wouldn't do it. He had no authority to release him. There was nobody demanding that he should be released. I had a good deal of difficulty to get that boy released. I was a young man then, just married and had just gone to keeping house, and I had talked to my wife in regard to this boy, and had told her that I wanted to bring him home; and I took her three or four different times to see him. We brought that boy home, and took him into our house. You must not expect that I did not have trouble with him,—I had a great deal of trouble,—but he remained

a member of my family for ten years, and I kept him from crime; and since that time he has been able to keep himself from crime. He is as respectable and worthy a citizen to-day as I am myself, holds a good position, has a family of his own, is well known in his neighborhood, and is a resident of the west side. I think I did him good, because I showed him how he could assist himself, which the average criminal among the poor classes does not know how to do; and I believe that the way to rescue these people is to put them into some occupation, and give them an education that will enable them to work out their own existence, when assisted.

One thing more, and that is about the Jewish people. I have never seen a Jewish prostitute, never. I have been connected with hospital staffs in this city for thirty years. I have never yet seen a Jewish prostitute; but I have known a great many male prostitutes among the Jews; and I have known of a great deal of harm they have done. I think they are not less vicious than any other class of men; but the women are not vicious. I have seen them among all classes, and in all the great cities of the country, and among the poor and poverty stricken, and I believe them to be better, and as pure if not purer morally, than any other class of our people.

Adjourned.

JOSEPH W. HINER, Secretary.

ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTH MEETING

FEBRUARY 14, 1901

LADIES' NIGHT

ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY-THREE PRESENT

SUBJECT:

What is the Greatest Menace to Twentieth Century Progress?

CHAIRMAN: REV. FRANK CRANE.

ADDRESSES BY

MR. WILLIAM M. SALTER

MISS JANE ADDAMS

REV. W. F. OLDHAM

PROF. GEO. D. HERRON

GENERAL DISCUSSION BY

MRS. CHARLES HENROTIN

MR. A. W. WRIGHT

MRS. URSULA N. GESTEFELD

REV. MILTON S. TERRY

MISS MAUD SUMMERS

MR. WALTER L. SINTON

JENKIN LLOYD JONES

DR. JAMES E. STUBBS

MR. NORMAN P. WILLARD

MRS. NANCY B. IRVING



ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTH MEETING.

*Held at the Palmer House, Thursday, February 14, 1901.
One hundred and twenty-three present.*

LADIES' NIGHT

What is the Greatest Menace to Twentieth Century Progress?

THE SECRETARY: I was asked this evening whether we put Ladies' Night on the 14th of February because it is St. Valentine's Day. Candor compelled me to admit that we did not. We supposed that the Twentieth Century woman was above such frivolities as valentines, and I assure you that no sentimental meaning is to be given to our selection of a date.

I congratulate you this evening on having as Chairman our friend Dr. Crane. I had the pleasure of presiding once at a meeting of the Sunset Club at which Dr. Crane was one of the principal speakers. One of my pleasant memories of that occasion is the remembrance that the doctor not only made a very good speech, but he stopped when his time was up, and spared me the embarrassing necessity of rapping him down. I was in some doubt as to whether I should have the nerve to rap down a doctor of divinity, but the doctor did not put my courage to this test. I trust the speakers of this evening will be equally considerate of him. It happened that Dr. Crane's antagonist was a lawyer, and as a matter of course he talked beyond his time, and I took very great pleasure in rapping him down. The thought occurred to me at that time that lawyers are more loquacious than

ministers, and I was inclined to attribute it to the fact that lawyers are paid for their talk by the yard and ministers by the year. That makes a good deal of difference.

I was glad to see by the papers the other day that Dr. Crane is likely to be appointed president of the State Board of Pardons. It is possible if he receives that appointment, which I certainly hope he may, that he will hear from some members of the Sunset Club in the course of his official career. While I do not want to interfere in matters that do not concern me, I think I might be permitted to suggest that any appreciation which you show the doctor's humor and eloquence this evening will do you no harm if you ever have occasion to ask a favor of the State Board of Pardons. I heard of a minister once who was appointed chaplain of a State penitentiary, and he preached to his old congregation his farewell sermon from the text, "I go to prepare a place for you, and where I am there shall ye soon be also." I have not quoted the text accurately. I purposely made a slight mistake in it so as to give Dr. Crane a chance to correct me. I know the clergy always take great pleasure in correcting the laity in matters of that kind, and I am glad to give the doctor a chance. I now take great pleasure in turning the meeting over to Dr. Crane.

THE CHAIRMAN: I don't see anything on the program here that calls for the speech we have just listened to. I think I shall have to rule it out of order, as it is irrelevant, and it has nothing to do with the case—and a good deal of it was not so—and the rest of it was not very true. However, I thank the gentleman for the kind words that he has said concerning me, and will try and eliminate myself as much as possible from these proceedings, for you have come here to consider, "What is the Greatest Menace to Twentieth Century Progress." And you have your choice of five here—the first is myself. So without further particularization at this time, I will introduce to you Mr. William M. Salter, the lecturer of the Society for Ethical Culture in Chicago, a man who is well known to you by reputation. Some of you know him personally, and value him for his intellectual ability and for his moral worth and helpfulness to our city.

MR. WILLIAM M. SALTER: Mr. Chairman, this is rather a large subject that we have to-night. If you will excuse me, I will limit myself to considering the chief menace to the progress of America during the Twentieth Century. Now I will not undertake to say what is the greatest menace, but I recognize one menace, and I should like to speak briefly on that, and that is militarism. The fact is we have been living and the world has been living of late in a

fools' paradise, or rather, I might say, if so many wise men and good women had not been in it. We have thought that the day of war was over. Buckle said in the middle of the century that the national taste for war (referring to England) was utterly extinct. Justin McCarthy spoke of the commonly accepted understanding that England had done with great wars and said that the new generation was growing up in the belief that wars were things of the past for us, out of fashion, belonging to a ruder and less rational society, like the wearing of armor. Over in France Koch—a distinguished follower of whom, by the way, we are soon to have the pleasure of hearing in Chicago, Mr. Frederick Harrison of England—said that the time had come when we might congratulate ourselves on the final passing away of serious and enduring warfare. Even in our own country the same strain was taken up. Emerson thought that it was only the ignorant and childish part of mankind that was the fighting part, and that war was actually now on its last legs. Now, I say, we are in a fools' paradise so long as we think such things as these, and if we had stopped to reflect and look beneath the surface the things that have been happening in the world throughout all this past century would teach us the absurdity of such a thing. Witness the war of England in China in behalf of the opium trade. Witness our own war in this country against Mexico. I will not refer to the Civil War, for that belongs to quite a different category—witness our own war in the Philippines and the war which England is waging down in South Africa; witness the wars that England has been continually waging out in India, down in Egypt, and here and there in various parts of Africa; witness the wars that almost all European nations have been waging, particularly during the latter part of the century, for the extension of trade and commerce,—the wars that we generally call Colonial wars. And we of America are in this business at last. We began, as I feel, with an honorable motive in Cuba against Spain, but an unforeseen consequence of that war brought us into the Philippines, and there we are waging a war that to all intents and purposes is a war of conquest, a war of subjugation. We of America, we, a freedom loving people, we, a people who have heretofore believed in the consent of the governed as a basis for all righteous government, we are putting our government on the Filipinos against their consent, and I fear we are only at the beginning of what is going to be, and the menace of which I spoke, which I have in mind, is that of militarism, a military policy for this country.

We are but at the beginning. If we may take the leading spirit in the Paris Peace Commission, Mr. Whitelaw Reid, and the leading spirit in the Philippine Commission, Col. Denby, for our guides in interpreting the principal motives for our purchase of the Philippines,

they lie in the necessity of an outlet for our trade and of opportunities for the investment of our surplus capital. We manufacture more than we can profitably sell here at home; capital is so piling up on our hands that we can only get 4 or even $2\frac{1}{2}$ per-cent for it. We see in the Philippines an immense market and we see in them a market more immense still, and in both places unlimited need of better highways for commerce—railroads, canals, roads, improved harbors—and of manufacturing plants equipped with all modern appliances; at least our far-sighted men of commerce and capitalists see these things. We certainly underestimate the push and urge of these forces if we think they will be content with the possession of the Philippine islands—and if we are ready to win our opportunities by force there, we may do so elsewhere. Col. Denby said he could conceive no other alternative to holding the Philippines “except the seizure of territory in China.” But there is nothing impossible in the idea of our seizing territory in China too. A missionary, writing recently in one of our leading religious weeklies, *The Northwestern Christian Advocate*, thinks that the partition of China is inevitable, and says that in that event our responsibilities cannot be ignored without national guilt. “The stars and stripes,” he affirms, “cannot stop in mid-ocean or off the coast of Asia. Their protecting folds must be thrown over a part at least of the long-suffering ‘brothers in yellow.’” And he puts his finger on the Fuhkien province with its 20,000,000 people as most fitted to be our charge. We have to reckon, I say, with such possibilities. True, China may object. The Chinese minister to America recently made an interesting comment on the proposal that the powers make a treaty defining what to do with China: “What,” he says, “can it be seriously proposed that a document shall be formally drawn up concerning interests in China and China shall not be a party to it?”

* * * It is as though a party of your neighbors met and agreed how they would occupy your house. One would take the front door, another would select the side door; others would appropriate certain rooms. And all this without consulting you, the owner of the house.” But we have not felt in honor bound to consult the Filipinos about taking their house, and it may be difficult to see how we are any more in honor bound to consult China in taking only a part of hers. We have become altogether shaky about the principle of the “consent of the governed”—i. e., outside the territory between the Atlantic and the Pacific and Canada and the Gulf; we of course abrogate nothing, but we allow the principle to fall into disuse—i. e., we shall, if we continue on the lines on which we have started. We have, to be sure, pledged our word in Cuba, but outside that we have a free hand, and even there it remains to be seen whether we shall keep our word. But if China may be the next step, we may for the step

following "expand" into Nicaragua—for just as England needs Egypt as a highway to India, so we may need Nicaragua and her future canal as a highway to the Philippines and China. And if Nicaragua, why not some of the West Indies, near to our own door, and if some of the West Indies, why not some of the South American republics, that are forever torn and distracted by party strife, that offer no security for capital, and so sadly need the blessings of good government? If we sanction the conquest of the Philippines, we have a precedent for conquest of almost any sort. True, we purchased the Philippines, but we purchased them from those who did not own them—the whole of the islands, outside Manila, at the time of the purchase being in possession of the insurgent islanders themselves. If we are right now, I see not why we need stand on even the formalities of purchase in the future. Along this line seems to me the coming menace to America.

It is not well to deceive ourselves as to our motives in our new policy. Of course I may be mistaken, but I notice how in history aggression always takes on a philanthropic coloring. I remember how our own South, in the days before the Civil War, was given to claiming that slavery was "beneficial not to the master only, but also and especially to the slave." Not long ago I observed that the Czar, in practically abrogating the old Finnish constitution, professed to do it for the good of his faithful subjects there, as well as elsewhere. Russia uses as a sort of motto, "Power lies not in strength, but in love," and her defenders quote it as indicating the spirit of Russian conquest in Asia. So a Japanese statesman writes that the "responsibility of leading the Chinese * * * into the paths of civilization" rests most heavily upon Japan, and that she "is determined to employ her newly-acquired power for the achievement of this grand and magnanimous mission." England in her moral and religious journals like *The Spectator* sometimes claims that she is holding Egypt and India and the South African colonies for altruistic purposes, though occasionally some blunt Englishman, who doesn't care if he does tell the truth, declares, "We don't go to Egypt to civilize it; we go to get new markets," and a journal like the *Saturday Review*, that does not set up to be pious, says that "the plain unvarnished truth is that the Empire was built up as the result of the pursuit of gain." The probable truth is that the philanthropy and altruism are real, but an afterthought; and that the primal motive is very glad to have them follow in its wake and have the reinforcement which they bring. While trade is safe and investments are secure, philanthropy and religion are a great ornament to life. Yes, in all seriousness, I ask earnest, thoughtful, not to say religious men, men who know how devious the ways of the human heart are, how great is the capacity

for self-deception, to weigh well their own motives and the motives of the nation at the present time. There is a practice that used to be prized by old-fashioned, godly men—it was self-examination. Now is the time for it.

Yet, suppose the menace of which I have spoken proves most real, suppose the nation is fairly swept away by the new tides, which are surging everywhere in the great world and are just beginning to make themselves sensibly felt among us, suppose we become an Imperial Republic, as is not impossible, suppose our chief magistrate becomes Emperor of the Philippines and of our dependencies as well as President of the United States, something that may not have so unnatural a sound to the future as it has to us now, what shall, we say, what shall be our attitude? I answer, notwithstanding all the resentment and indignation I would feel that life can be lived essentially as it was before—we should be patriots as before. We should have a country gone far astray, but it would be our country none the less. We should be disillusioned, but perhaps after all it is only because some of us are so young—born during or since our Civil War—that we are disillusioned. What was this country, with all its idealism about liberty and the Declaration of Independence, before the Civil War? It was a slave-holding republic. An “imperial republic” is not so much worse. What was our boasted constitution before the war? It was a compromise with slavery. What was the Declaration of Independence itself? It did not mean what it said. Its own writers and signers did not mean it. They intentionally omitted the slave from their consideration. It was forsooth one of their indictments against King George that he had excited insurrections among the slaves, for this, I understand, is what is meant by “domestic insurrections” in that document. The fact would be, if the worst happens, simply that we should be no longer a peculiar people in our eyes, but must be like the rest of the world, that the glory of America would pass away, that we should become aware that we, too, have our share of pretense and hypocrisy. The fact is that we have got to strive against a policy of violent conquests, just as we did against slavery—and we may not succeed, and the striking thing would be if we did succeed. Freedom, friends, like justice, is a perpetual conquest. It is never so much a fact, but the ideal in our hearts. If this nation for almost a century had its hands stained in crime, are we to imagine that it is now henceforth going to be stainless? If the worst happens, we can only live as our fathers lived. We can love our country as they loved theirs, despite its sorry failings—we can love it as a man loves his mother, though he be fallen into evil courses; we can love it as a mother loves her wayward son; we can love it and believe that it has a hidden stock of virtue that will make it yet

come out triumphant, even as America has already survived the terrible shock of civil war; or if it is itself to go down, we shall believe in a new America, as holy men of old consoled themselves by believing in a new Jerusalem.

"Whoever fights, whoever falls,
Justice conquers evermore,
Justice after as before."

"For He that worketh high and wise,
Nor pauses in His plan,
Will take the sun out of the skies
Ere freedom out of man."

THE CHAIRMAN: I presume that I was selected for this position to-night because of the well known fact that I perform so well every duty that is assigned to me. I was reading of a man the other day out in California which reminded me of myself. He was an engineer and he was dying—that was not the particular reason he reminded me of myself—and the brethren came in and talked to him—other engineers, and they asked him if they could do anything for him. He said, "No, I don't know of anything." "Well," they said, "we are going to give you a monument, Bill. All the boys have chipped in. You were an awful good fellow, and we want you to select the motto to put on the monument." "Well," he said, "just have it something simple, just put on it, 'Here lies the body of Bill Jones. He was only an engineer, but he done his darndest.'"

We will next have the pleasure of listening to a speaker who stands for and with one of the great branches of evangelical work, the Methodist Church, a speaker whose fame is known to many of you, and whose ability as a speaker is well known throughout this country, as well as abroad, Rev. Dr. W. F. Oldham, of the Missionary Society of the Methodist Church.

REV. W. F. OLDHAM: I am asked to discuss still another menace to progress in the new century. In stating what that menace is I think I go to the root of all difficulties. It is the decay of religion—the atrophy of the sense of God as imminent and recognized in human affairs. Behind and beneath all failure of duty in ourselves or towards our fellows is, at bottom, the absence of "religion"—the failure of duty towards God. For whatever may be the temporary entanglements of the human mind on its emergence from savagery, ordinarily it is not long before "God" is conceived of as an Oversoul to whom each one owes rectitude of life and in Whom all find community of care and oversight. And though at first it may merely be the clan

or the tribe that is thus related to the tribal God and correlated in him, as horizon grows under the thrust of this very idea the "God-idea" is lifted up and spread out, and with it the fellowship born of partnership in His care and Providence extends to those without the local bounds. Until finally God becomes the all Father, and in that and in that belief alone is there sure and sufficient ground for the demand for individual integrity and the "brotherliness" owed to all men. Without the Fatherhood of God you cannot have in any large practical prevalence among plain folk either personal integrity or realization of "the Brotherhood of Man."

The danger that threatens not in the low places only, but even more in the high, is that we should be so involved in things as to lose the sense of God or that in passionate seeking the fruitage of human brotherhood, we should unthinkingly, sometimes with a touch of captiousness, fail to cultivate the soil which bears the plant, in seeking the betterment of social conditions should fail to cultivate that sense of God that furnishes the essence of religious obligation and puts effective sanctions behind man's duty towards man.

Two things a realizing belief in God furnishes man with: (1) An august and ever-present overseer of conduct and the motives that inspire it. (2) A majestic beholder and rewarder of strenuous effort after the ideal life. And whatever may be said of this view of God being other than the God conceived of in the prevailing religions among men, I answer, fostered by the truth there is in all religion, the unceasing thrust of the moral sense in man—aided as I believe by the inspiration of God who is ever about us—is towards the realizing of the universal Father, who holds all men in common bonds of sonship and ceaselessly carries the race towards moral ideals.

What a revolution it will work in China when the idea is born into the national consciousness of a great spiritual presence before whom it will be vain to seek to "save your face," for not the outer seeming but the inner fact lies open to Him! What an enforcing of morals would come to a people whom Wells Williams, who served them through long years of laborious fidelity, is obliged to characterize as almost lost to any sense of the obligations of truthfulness!

Said an intelligent Chinaman to me: "China is in bad case. Russia * * * west, England and Germany east, France south—and worst of all the missionaries' God attacks her from above."

He failed to see that the annoyance of being found out from above is the very tonic that China needs to make a great people. Confucius, when he answered the enquiring disciple that "he knew not life, how could he talk about what is after death; was busy about his duties to men, and could not spare time nor attention or duty to remote gods," was unknowingly striking at the moral roots of his people's

life, and helped thereby to create a veneered civilization which lacks moral soundness for its foundations. Our danger is that of Confucius. That we shall engulf ourselves in selfish and self-centered activities or even in supposed zeal for duties towards man, while the sense of God grows dim and the unescapable sanctions for conduct be taken from men under the stress and strain of cross currents whose uniform direction would seem to be against the ideals of the moral life. The America of to-day may be the China of to-morrow if there come to us a decay of that religious life which realizes the presence of a moral overseer who looks into the heart of conduct and weighs motive with unescapable fidelity, and is not turned aside by specious words or surface exhibitions of conduct. Men do not enjoy being detected in falseness and shallowness by good men whom they respect. There is an infinite addition to the forces that invigorate the moral nature and give men added zeal for inward personal righteousness in the sincere belief of a God who sees—and knows—and accurately marks the intentions of the heart as well as the public outcomes of the life. A moral order to be reckoned with under an executive head of spotless integrity that never fails to mark all invasions of the moral order and to deal with them is an invisible policing of conscience until goodness becomes automatic and incitement to duty without which the regeneration of society, consisting, as it does, of faulty individuals, may well be despaired of. In cultivating "God-consciousness" we prepare the ground for the loftiest integrity and for the highest service of men. The decay of religion is the death of social improvement and of the best development of the individual. And (2) Religion, in cultivating the apprehension of an ever-present and beholding God, furnishes an august presence before whom the drama of the individual life is played. Behind and above all other spectators—who sometimes behold and sometimes do not—is one Majestic presence who rightly estimates the entire action and measures the fidelity of the player in reaching towards the height "of that great argument" whose whole compass would include the boundaries of a perfect life. To the man who has once caught the vision of this silent, invisible spectator, his own part in life takes on new values. Men may commend or rebuke; the gallery may applaud or storm with hisses—he sees the invisible presence; his longing is for the verdict of the Unheard, the smile of the Unseen. The writer of the letter to the Hebrews draws a remarkable group of heroic men and women with the bold sweep of a practiced hand—and then accounts for them and their courageous insistence against all human odds, with the statement: "These all endured as seeing Him who is invisible."

In the solitary fight against prevailing evils; in the loneliness

of spirit that has come to them when all men's faces were averted; in disesteem and sometimes dishonor; what has so encouraged the stout hearts of our race as to believe that, though all men were against them, GOD was with them? "One with God" has always been a majority, and the realized presence of the Divine Onlooker has strengthened many a believing heart to heroic resistance or strenuous endeavor. Every religion that teaches, thus, the presence of an all-witnessing God develops certain great heroic qualities in its adherents. Judged by earthly tribunals, the verdict varies, for they do not clearly see and are mutable in judgment. The worse may be made to appear the better reason before them. And what to-day they approve, to-morrow they may decry. But religion brushes by all the clamor of earth and brings us face to face with the quiet solemnity of the Heavens, and encourages the belief that the quiet voice of the Divine heard in the deeps of the soul—the approval of the moral judgment illuminated by God—is the true verdict to be sought. Take this away from men and you breed a race of opportunists—moved by the shouting gallery this way and that. Undermine, fail to cultivate the sense of God's presence, decry and banish religion, and you take away the greatest factor in life for moral inspiration and high heroic courage.

The menace is great—that, swallowed up in things material or projects humanitarian, we fail to see that in God "all things consist," stand together on right foundations and in true relations, and that in God, as the realized restraining and energizing force, all true living, with its heroic struggle against the wrong and sweet philanthropy towards the weak, finds its highest sanctions and its mightiest inspiration.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am placed in an embarrassing position in regard to the next speaker on the program—Miss Addams—because it is impossible for any man to introduce Miss Addams to a Chicago audience. You know her better than you know anybody else. If you don't, it argues yourself unknown. We will listen to Miss Addams with pleasure.

MISS JANE ADDAMS: You may remember that when Maggie Tulliver was very hard pressed by Stephen Guest, and when she didn't know in the least how to answer his arguments, she at last cried out: "If the past can't guide us, what can guide us?" And so, during the last two weeks, when I have tried very hard to think what was the greatest menace of this new century's progress, the more I tried to think, the more I discovered that I didn't know, and I finally was reduced to this: "If the past century can't guide us, what can

guide us?" Possibly, by a very quick review, we may be able to deduce some prognostications for the future, although I think the older one grows the more cautious one is, at any rate about dealing in futures. In the dawn of the Nineteenth Century, everybody was anticipating a new century of human fellowship. We thought, or, rather, they thought, perhaps—I won't put myself back so far as the dawn, although I do belong pretty well back—they thought that because they had formulated the doctrine of human rights, because they had expressed the hope of human solidarity, and, most of all, because they had gotten up a political apparatus for democratic life, that all human ills were cured. Now, certainly, the men who formulated these hopes, if they were living at this moment, would be disappointed in the outcome of democracy. You remember that Mr. Lowell, in one of his English speeches, said that the great achievement of American democracy had been to put the common man upon his feet so that he stood on the eastern shore and looked across to the old world, with its highly organized society, and said, with no deference in his voice, "I am as good as you are." But Mr. Lowell said that the achievement of English democracy has been to make the aristocrat stand upon his feet and take the commoner by the hand and say, "You are as good as I am." Now let us imagine that at the beginning of this century America stood on the eastern shore, that she looked across the Atlantic, and that she shouted out, with all the crudeness, and yet with all the fervor of youth, "I am as good as you are," and then let us say that by the end of the century her face has been turned around, and, instead of standing on the eastern shore, she is standing on the western shore, and that she is looking, not across the Atlantic, but across the Pacific, and the words that the people in Asia and in the islands across the sea are waiting for her to say are these, "You are as good as we are." In the very last days of the century she changed her cry to England into "You are as bad as we are," but she cannot quite bring herself now to say to Asia, "You are as good as we are." Something has happened to her democracy, something ungracious, something unexpected holds her silent, at least for the moment. Some of us have faith that in her mature age she will be able to shout the worthier cry, as in her youth she was able to shout the cruder cry, but certainly she will not say it now. Now, what came to pass during the hundred years? If I were to sum up in a sentence what I consider the greatest possible menace, I should say lack of faith in the people, lack of faith in all kinds of people, lack of faith that the people contain in themselves a dynamic power which only needs to be used in order to make the world better. Why is it that the American nation rises up in this tremendous patriotism

over the question of expansion? It is because it gives the people an outlet for their beliefs, gives them a consciousness of nationality, the sense of being in the sweep of the world's activities. And why is it the people are so slow to rouse on the subject of social reform? It is because social reforms are handed out to them as something for "the people," presupposing that they are paralyzed morally and have no share in pushing forward social reforms for themselves. We are having, as a distinguished Englishman said a little while ago, "government for the people, but we are not yet having government by the people." We do not yet believe that each soul has within itself a tremendous power, which, because we distrust it, has not been awakened, and our democracy has not succeeded because it has not been thoroughly tried. If we distrust our own people, of course we distrust other peoples; in neither case have we succeeded in finding the thing which gives them dignity and recognition. A certain set of human energies combined to formulate democratic dogmas, but we do not believe that certain human minds are also able to discover democratic dynamics. Somehow, the human mind is not able to free the dynamics; we are not able to find the enthusiasm we need in the people. Personally, I believe this change came on gradually. I think we allowed ourselves to say a good many harsh things about the foreigners within our borders; sometimes, I regret to say, we said them under the head of philanthropy, often in order to arouse pity, that we might help them, but every time that philanthropy allows itself to belittle the human individual in order to help him, it lowers human nature and pushes it down instead of arousing it to its best. There is a loss of social energy throughout our land, the causes of which we have not yet analyzed, and there are no groups of men studying how to free this social energy, such as the end of the last century produced—men who strove to formulate a faith in it to provide channels through which this social energy might move. Then, we have learned to talk about evolution in a solemn way, as if evolution was a force instead of being merely a process, as if it could take the place of social energy instead of only teaching us by what method social energy might be directed, what power it has behind it, and the fact that it falls in line with universal laws. We have a way of believing that if any great thing is to be done, it must be done by means of a commercial activity; that moral energy some way is very good in its way as long as applied to individuals and families, but it is not a great force nor a national one. The sociologists talk about the plus forces that lie outside the human will and energy, and do not urge us to free the forces within ourselves. We will never learn to interpret alien peoples, we will never be able to break

through the outside differences, we will never develop in the real democratic direction, so long as we distrust human energy and the power of human thought.

For the sake of its own development, democracy needs to get out of national lines. It seems at this moment to be struggling and drowning in a narrow nationalism. No one who has large hopes for his nation would think that it wanted to be confined always within its own shores; democracy could get an enormous impulse by realizing that it, too, had its place in the world's history, and perhaps that is the test which is coming to us now. We are going out into the world's activities. Of course we are. The question only is, how shall we go out? Shall we go out with the narrow notion of national life, which would claim democracy for itself alone, or shall we be really and truly inter-national in that we throw our energy into other lands, mingling in an absolute equality and only knowing that progress belongs to us altogether?

De Tocqueville, at the beginning of the century, when trying to sum up some of the difficulties which lay ahead of democracy, said that doubtless the great stumbling block would be the belief of the people that a mass judgment was irresistible, that if the majority said a thing was true that it became true at that moment. Now, we haven't any De Tocqueville at the present moment patiently and carefully studying our democracy. Perhaps we don't need a philosopher so much as we need a physician. But, at any rate, we need to be told that this delusion has taken possession of the nation—not that the mass was irresistible, but that a certain type of civilization is irresistible, that everything must fall before it, that democracy is a mere trifle, that a democratic government is nothing compared with the great gift of civilization which we hold in our hands. Now, commerce is democratic. In spite of all its faults, it is willing to minister to the needs of anybody who will buy its wares, and certainly the highest conceptions of the human mind, if we take them seriously and merely follow the democracy of commerce, can be received throughout the world.

But if we lose the belief that it is the business of faith and progress to unlock social energy, that it is its mission to give a meaning and dignity to the life of the humblest man, of course we have very little to contribute to the world, and it seems to me it doesn't make much difference whether we are in China or not. The thing to get into China for is to bring, not civilization, but the causes and the ideas which lie back of civilization, back of progress itself. So I should say that lack of faith in the people was what was the matter with not only our domestic politics and our expansion abroad, but I should add, if there were not so many ministers here, with our religion as well.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker on the program is the one perhaps who would be considered the greatest menace to our century by a great many people. I am sure that this audience, composed as it is of men of all sorts of opinions—I see the orthodox here, and the church member and the non-church member, and—as the old lady said in Sag Harbor—the ognastic—all present—will be very glad to welcome the widest discussion, and those who have followed the career of Professor Herron, as I have, since its inception in a public way I am sure will at least give him credit for the orthodoxy of spirit and the aim and the truthfulness that abides in the very flavor of his sentences. We shall be very glad to hear from Professor Herron to-night.

PROF. GEORGE D. HERRON: As we study the rise and fall and the enfeeblement, if not decline, of civilizations and nations and religions, there seems to have been at the heart of every civilization and every religion and every nation a deadly poison that brought about either its destruction or its decline. And I utter a commonplace and something that is very easy and simple to say when I say that that deadly poison has been the centralization of what we call wealth in the hands of the few. I say it is a commonplace, but it is one that we all think about. It is one that we analyze but very little. When we think of it, we think of it in but a very superficial way, but, none the less, it is true that every decline in a great institution may be traced directly to this one source. It has been the historic menace; and the menace of the Twentieth Century is what we call its wealth. The menace that threatens to destroy America is its prosperity, or what we call its prosperity.

Let us look at this a minute and see if we can see something of what it is. To begin with, it is in no sense wealth. Wealth in any true definition means that which involves the common well-being of the people. Wealth is commonwealth or it is not wealth, and the most of what we call wealth is not wealth; it is a superstition, it is a condition. The strength or the prosperity which is begun by this private centralization of wealth is no more real prosperity, real strength, than the strength which is begotten by insanity or the delirium of a fever is real strength. When the resources and that which the people may produce are centralized in the hands of the few, we call it wealth, but all such wealth is in reality social poverty. No great private wealth ever existed in human history that was not the direct fruit or else the direct cause of the common poverty. No man ever becomes rich individually without somewhere making other people poorer. No great individual wealth ever existed

that was not somewhere, if you traced it back far enough, the labor product squeezed out of the common life. I am not blaming the individual because this is so. I am merely trying to say that private or centralized wealth never exists save through the direct or indirect exhaustion of the people who actually produced that wealth without getting it. If I had all the blood that is in my body in the back of my head I would have apoplexy. I would not say that I had health. But when all the resources of the people, their labor power, becomes centralized in the hands of the few, we call that wealth, or prosperity or health. But it is something worse than apoplexy. It is not wealth. It is a lie. It is a superstition. It is a destruction. It is congestion. But it is something more than congestion; it always results reactively in the destruction at least of the power of the people to produce. The political economists are all the time explaining to us what they call overproduction. That is, they explain to us how the world is starving to death because too much is produced, and the need of finding new markets. Now, that is called overproduction. It is simply a destruction of the power of the people to buy what they make. Wealth is centralized in the hands of a few. The people who make the clothes go ragged; the people who mine the coal shiver and go hungry; the people who bake the bread in London are too poor to buy it. The centralization of the wealth destroys the purchasing power of the people to buy that which they make; and the result is finally the destruction of their productive power.

When the Roman power class, their politicians, their capitalist class, despoiled the world, and the wealth of the world was centralized in the hands of the few, and there were no more worlds to conquer, then Rome fell, because of the very weight and destructiveness of this centralization of its wealth. If you take the stones out of the foundation of a building slowly, one at a time, to build into a tower, the tower may be magnificent, and it may attract your attention and the attention of the world, but after a while the building falls; and if we heap up great wealth in the hands of a few through centralization of the labor power in the hands of the few, for a while it dazzles the world, but after a while the structure falls with its own weight, as it ought to fall, and the catastrophe that comes to the nation or the world is something worse than the deluge. And the present system of centralization of wealth could not go on without ultimately destroying the purchasing and productive power of the world, and ultimately, if there were no change in the present processes, without ultimately plunging upon the whole world chaos and disorder such as man has never known anything about. And, in the next place, it is always tyranny. If a few people own the earth, they own

the people who must live on the earth. Even Alexander Hamilton said, "They who own our sustenance own our moral well-being," and he deliberately proposed to organize government so that they who owned the sustenance should own the government.

If a few own the resources upon which all people depend for their labor, you can see that in the very nature of the case they own the people who are thus dependent. The private ownership of the means and sources of production can never be anything else than the private ownership of the producers, of the people who are dependent upon it, and the result is a tyranny that extends into every phase of life. What man is there in Chicago whose thinking is not more or less shapen by his material interests? Private ownership of what we call capital of the wealth-making resources makes churches, colleges, newspapers, literature, everything else, dependent upon the beneficence, if you please, of the private owners.

Now, if democracy is questioned to-day, why is it questioned? Because of industrial aristocracy. Because we have aristocracy in industry, therefore we are seeking for aristocracy in government. We cannot have democracy in government unless we have industrial democracy. Our followers of democracy, or political corporations, are all simply the fruit of industrial corporations. Why is it that you have a bad government, or why, in fact, have you never had any government in the City of Chicago? Why have you simply a system of highway robbery, which you call government, in the City of Chicago? Why have you Tammany in New York City? Tammany in New York City and the City Hall in the City of Chicago, each of these is simply the agent of vested rights, business and interests, and you know it, every one of you. You know that the creator of Legislatures and City Councils and of every political interest and the destroyer of democracy in America is the private ownership of the resources upon which all the people depend. The Government of the United States and the government of our American cities are simply instruments, and you all know it; you know they are merely instruments of great corporate business interests. That is all. And how can you have political government by the people and for the people when the country which you propose to govern by and for the people is owned by a few men? How can America be a democracy in its government if a dozen men control the resources of America?

It has been said that militarism is a great menace. But what causes militarism? Why are we fighting over in the Philippines? For new markets. Why is England fighting down in South Africa? For gold mines. Why did England fight in Egypt? I can take you to Egypt, where I was a few months ago, and show you there

12,000 little children working eighteen to twenty hours a day, five or ten years old, herded in great barracks where the beds never grow cold, where one relay of children is put in and another relay taken out, and they work for ten cents a day on an average, and eight cents a day, and as low as five cents a day, and they are growing old, their lives are being squeezed out of them; they are dying at fifteen years of age, and doing that for great English philanthropists in order that they may make a profit. That is militarism, that is imperialism, and that is all there is of it.

And why is there what we call a decay of religion in the world? Because religion is presented as a civilization handed down by one class from God, who is an infinite policeman, to another class that needs saving, and religion is being discredited in the world and ought to be discredited because it is chiefly owned by a great capitalistic system. And then, again, it becomes a great system of parasitism. A civilization that is built upon the private ownership of all these resources and means of production upon which all the people depend makes its institutions upon which the people depend private philanthropies or beneficiaries. The result is that civilization becomes a vast parasitism.

Every great institution founded by a great individual greed, whatever it may do incidentally, is a destruction of our public conscience and the moral life of the people, for it blinds them to the reality of the situation. Let the people have what they produce, and they will found their own universities. They will found their own museums. They will found their own libraries. Now, in the nature of things, this ought to be so.

It would be the profoundest conceivable calamity to the world if a system that is fundamentally and inherently wrong could ultimately succeed and be prosperous, without any regard to the difficulties in the way of the case. It is inherently and fundamentally immoral that some people should own that upon which all people depend. It is fundamentally immoral that the street railways of the City of Chicago should be privately owned. There is something deeper than the question, Which way is the most profitable? It is fundamentally immoral that a great factory upon which everyone depends should be privately owned. If there is ever to be democracy in ethics or democracy in religion or democracy in government, it must rest back upon production or distribution by the people and for the people and of the people.

Now, the greatest calamity that could by any possibility befall the world would be for the common life to consent to a civilization that comes short of making every man the equal inheritor with every other man of all that nature and history can be made to produce.

No civilization is moral or rational; no civilization is fit for free men to live in that does not have for its motive the surrounding of every man born into the world with all that the world spiritually and materially can be made to produce.

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary told me that at the close of these four speeches we were to have some volunteer speeches—and he gave me the names of the volunteers. Now, we have heard the four menaces—militarism, irreligion, lack of faith in the people, concentration of wealth. I don't just exactly see how the century is going to get through it, only, somehow or other, the century will go on in spite of all the menaces, and the people will live and will drink their ale and eat their cakes. But perhaps some of these other speakers will give us something that will relieve the dark side of the picture a little bit, and enable us to sleep in a little comfort. For myself, I wouldn't just exactly like to go to sleep after these four speeches, and I have the names here of four guests of the Club who have kindly consented to make a little talk of five minutes each, and I take pleasure in calling upon Mrs. Henrotin.

MRS. CHARLES HENROTIN: I shall try and do what the Chairman suggests, throw perhaps a glimmer of light into this Twentieth Century, and, as I am a woman, may I say I think it will come by woman, or through woman? Miss Addams asked me to speak on the effect of war on the economic condition of woman. What is popularly known as the woman cause is the only cause in the world that never yet appealed to arms. In it no drop of blood has ever been shed, no act of force—until Mrs. Nation arrived—has ever taken place in its behalf. The effect of war on all that women have to contribute to civilization is so disastrous that I think we can see to-day that she stands in rather a worse economic condition than she did before we entered on our career of expansion. That may be considered rather remote, but everything to-day grows rapidly. After the civil war an enormous number of women were thrown upon the labor market. When you visit the national cemeteries and see thousands of graves of men, and think that on an average each of them probably had some woman depending upon him, and consider that on the community and on those women concerned was thrown the burden perhaps not only of supporting themselves, but perhaps their children, you can see what a tremendous effect war has on women. It is in the nature of things, I think, that all that women have to contribute to civilization—and they contribute fully half—is secondary and co-ordinating in its character, and must be by its methods.

Therefore, when it is a question of the military life or the strenuous life, their part of civilization, their contribution, naturally falls in public estimation. As women advance in economic life, an instinct of self-preservation will make them throw their power against war. The most civilized nation in Europe to-day among women is France. It is impossible in the nature of things at present that France should disarm, but what is the answer of the women to the present state of the military life there? The birth rate sinks steadily, in spite of the government offering rewards for large families. The French woman is so civilized that she answers, "No, my son shall no longer be food for cannon." And in that fine spirit so also will the women of this country answer if it ever comes to any question of our being a military nation. You will see that the women of the country, the finest women, the ones you want to be the mothers of your sons, will answer, "No, not my best, not my son. He shall not be food for cannons' mouths."

MRS. URSULA N. GESTEFELD: When I noted the subject for the addresses of the evening I immediately set to work to see how many obstacles in the way of the progress of the Twentieth Century I could find. I found a number. I noted militarism; the undue assimilation of wealth by the few; many others beside those two. The longer I examined them, however, the simpler they became. As I looked into them more closely they dwindled and dwindled until they came near to the vanishing point. I could see militarism as ambition misdirected; it only needed to become aspiration to be a power for good in the world. I could see no evil in the possession of wealth. The only evil I could see was when the man who was possessed by his wealth so that it was not rightly used. I failed to note irreligion as one of the obstacles in the way. I think there never was a time in the world's history when there was so much religion in the world as there is to-day. The lines of demarcation between denominations are fading out, I think, and true religion is coming into the world, because it is coming in the hearts and souls of the people. Look on every side, we see men and women who are working for their fellow men, and not in the name of denominational religion, but for the sake of brotherhood, and I ask you to show me a higher evidence of religion in the world than that.

If I were to mention particulars I might say that perhaps one obstacle is the tendency to look for and find the evil and overlook the good everywhere. If that is the quest, and if that is what we are bent upon, we can find evil on every hand and plenty of it, and if we look through those spectacles everything

we examine will wear that color. But there is also good in the world as well as evil. You can no more stay progress for the human race than you can stay the waves of the mighty ocean. Progress itself for the world as a whole, so-called, by the great power that is back of all things—you may call it God, you may call it force, you may call it what you will, but everything and every one has to move on, and it is only our own lagging backwards so that we fail to push that makes us say this is evil and that is evil. If we saw more clearly perhaps the existence—if we saw, as Miss Addams suggested, the good that is in every man and woman and child, and that is waiting resurrection from the dead—if we looked for that and saw it, and saw that the Almighty God was back of everything—if we only saw that, we would not see so much evil everywhere.

Now, I would not inculcate or teach an optimism that has no foundation. There is a foundation for it, for the most cheerful view of all things, and I think if there were a little more general effort for self-knowledge of what man is or what existence is, the relation of the world to the other, the casual evils that we see everywhere would diminish and disappear. We would only see them as incidental to the development of good, incidental to the progress of the human race as a whole. I do not think there is any cause for discouragement. I think, on the whole, there is reason for every hope we can command. The world is growing better. We are getting better, every one of us, and what we need to look for most to-day is that source of enlightenment and health and strength that enables us to become our best, for nothing and no one can stand still, if a better is possible. Now, I do not believe there is one of us here to-night or one of us in the whole City of Chicago but what conceives a better than he, and but what has some friend who is better than he. How shall we do the most good in the world? Harping continually on the evil, or by holding up the good before the minds and hearts and souls of the people? The drawing power of the ideal is what is needed, and one of the obstacles in the way of progress is the too low ideals that we hold of ourselves.

MISS MAUD SUMMERS: I should like to add a word of comfort. Social progress is advanced by educative rather than by corrective processes. People fail to see the importance of formative measures; corrective and preventive have their place, but they are not fundamental.

Great changes have taken place in the political, industrial and social conditions, and the old ideals will no longer suffice. The

feudal system has been succeeded by democratic institutions, but almost everywhere the monastic idea of culture prevails. This conceives of education as a perfect whole, and regards the child merely as a receptacle by means of which this perfect whole is to be transmitted from generation to generation.

In olden times the conditions of life gave the child that self-activity in brain work and hand work, whereby he developed character and gained the power to do that which made him ready to turn his talent into whatever direction it inclined.

Much that was formerly done in the home has been transferred to the factory. Home is now the place where people eat and sleep and have their social being. A great chasm exists between the home and the world where the child must some day take its place—a chasm which can only be bridged by the right sort of a school. Education is not an end in itself, but a means to an end. It must change with the changing social conditions. The end of education is such a development of the individual that he may pass with the least friction into the social conditions, natural and artificial, within which he lives, moves and has his being.

Formerly the child watched the wheat grow and assisted in the process whereby it was changed into flour and bread. He watched the wool cut from the sheep's back, and knew how it was transformed into the family clothing. He went to school for the merely formal training, but that which he secured beyond the school walls gave him breadth of view, nobility of ideals, clearness of judgment and a love for the true and beautiful. To-day we understand why so many of our most successful men come from the country. It is because the balance between knowing and doing is maintained by the very conditions of life. When a harness is broken and the boy hunts around for a piece of leather to mend it, his creative faculties are exercised and he is made familiar with the practical things of life. If the ideal of the little red school house existed to-day, our children would be weighed in the balance and found wanting. The government to which Miss Addams has alluded—a government for the people—would exist. A government by the people depends upon the recognition of these changed social conditions, and the adaptation of our formative measures to them.

The demand for manual training has arisen because people now recognize the relation of muscular movement to thought. Its industrial significance is only one factor in the problem. Manual training, therefore, cannot be called a fad. The adaptation of education to social needs explains why the study of nature under proper conditions must be introduced into our schools. Substitute for the blue sky and green grass of the country the gray sky, brick

walls and unsightly garbage boxes of the city, and it will not be difficult to see why nature study demands that we give the city child something better than a branch from a tree, or a flower that is plucked. This teaches him to destroy nature, not preserve it. To-day field excursions and school gardens should be a part of the school course, because of the changed social conditions. The school of the woods and hills, the fields and the streams, is that from which our greatest thinkers have been graduated.

The recognition of the importance of formative measures explains the growing interest in the movement for small parks and playgrounds. Brick and mortar have encroached upon childhood's right to free motor activity. There is no work for the child at home. His energies must have an outlet, so he goes out in the street to play, where too often he is corrupted by evil associations. Therefore, if there is a yard around the school house, it should be properly equipped as a play-ground for little children. Larger spaces of ground should be provided for the older children to play. Those who have made a study of this subject know that there are games for children and games for youth, and that these cannot be played at the same time and in the same place.

In closing, I would call your attention to the fact that throughout the ages the star that has ever led the wise men on and on has been a philosophic insight into education, and whenever they have located the star they have found it, not over a library, but over a little child.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am very glad to announce as the last speaker on our program the only man in Chicago who has a head big enough to grasp this whole subject and hold it together. Of course, you don't need for me to name him. He will get it into some such shape that you can take it away with you and digest it; a man who might be called the intellectual gastric juice of this occasion; one who will take the particles of food that have been prepared for our intellectual pabulum and reduce them to a proper peptonized consistency. It is hardly necessary for me to say that this is the Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones.

JENKIN LLOYD JONES: If it takes fifteen minutes to find a menace, the most I can do with five minutes is to find a symptom or two. I don't know whether I am going to talk about the cart or the horse. I don't know whether I am to deal, in the minute or two that I am to stand before you, with cause or effect. I can only count a few things about which I am scared personally. In the first place, I am scared by the growing passion, as it seems to

me, of our young people for fun. I am scared when I see that academic pursuits are most attractive on the athletic field. I am scared when I see such holy civic days as the birthday of Abraham Lincoln made conspicuous on our college campus by the exhibition of the most riotous fun. I yield to no man in my interest in the joys of youth, but I think there is something alarming in this passion for entertainment and this hunger for fun.

Then I am scared at what seems to me a growing reluctance of men to be interested in anything but business or politics. I don't care whether a man believes in religion or not, only so he takes the problem up seriously. I object to the man who delegates all those responsibilities to his wife. I grow tired in the presence of men who excuse themselves from all delights of serious thought and concerns on the ground that they are due at business, or when they are not at business they must talk politics, or when they are not doing either they must lounge on the sofa with their cigars and slippers.

And, then, again, I am scared at the really dangerous tendency of women to flock by themselves. I want to play with them. I don't like to see them settle the universe in the afternoons when men are not around. I object to taking Browning and Victor Hugo and Tolstoy with pink teas only.

And then I am scared at the ease with which men and women forget the higher relations of which we have heard to-night. I am reminded that Tolstoy calls patriotism the menace of civilization. I remember that George Eliot in a more careful statement says that patriotism is the virtue of narrow minds. I distrust that prosperity or that triumph that rejoices in the progress of any section of this world of ours.

And then, again, I am scared at the people who think we are going to the everlasting bow-wows without qualification. I am scared at this disposition to place all the responsibilities on surroundings, and to relieve the internal life of men from the solemn responsibilities of even executing what little capital they have. Now, it is not so much my business to administer the capital of Carnegie as it is to administer what little capital Jenkin Lloyd Jones may have.

And then, on the other hand, I am scared at the people who in the name of optimism think we are all going to kingdom come, whether or no, I tell you if I have read history aright we are not all going to kingdom come. Civilizations have gone down, powers have gone to smash, and great nations, greater than ours, and nobler cities than Chicago, have come to grief because they trusted in the everlasting, "Hurrah, boys, we will get there anyhow."

THE CHAIRMAN: The Secretary says the meeting is now open for volunteers. Anyone who trusts or distrusts in the "everlasting hurrah, boys," may now speak for five minutes.

MR. NORMAN P. WILLARD: As I have been hearing these speeches this evening, I have been wondering how it is that we forget so much of our history. We talk about these menaces of the present time. How many of them were not menaces a century ago? It seems to me certainly militarism was. It seems to me that when we consider the average rights of the average man through the world and even our own government in these United States as they then were; if we consider the question of the comparative influence of wealth and the importance of wealth in the social and actual world, any of these menaces that have been referred to to-night are very much less threatening to-day than they were a century ago.

Gladstone, during the last year of his life, felt more and more that the menace of the future was the slavery of trade unions, the organization which attempts to compel men to work less instead of working more, which endeavors in so many cases to bring a lower activity rather than a higher, and it seems to me that the trade union in the sense Gladstone looked at it is but a stepping stone towards the socialism toward which our friend, Dr. Herron, would lead us. If there is any menace to-day, it occurs to me that it is the menace of socialism. And yet when we think how small a proportion of the people of Chicago, how small a proportion of the thinking or working world anywhere are believers in socialism, it seems to me that it is not so very much of a menace, after all. And if we think of the fallacies underlying the whole philosophy of such a pleasant dream as Dr. Herron would present to us, it seems to me that, as we more and more think about it, more and more will we realize the fallacy. For example, he refers to the English in Egypt. And yet who of us who considers the difference between the Egypt of to-day and the Egypt of twenty years ago does not realize that Great Britain and her government have enormously increased the happiness and the well-being of the average citizen?

MR. AUSTIN W. WRIGHT: It seems to me that the greatest menace to progress consists in that form of ignorance which is called superstition. Particularly those superstitions which relate to theology, political institutions and social conventions; and of these superstitions that form which is known as patriotism is by all odds the most far-reaching and pernicious. Patriotism has become, everywhere in the civilized world, a cult, and when anything becomes a cult the intellectual effacement of the individual is complete. Progress is possible only

under conditions wherein individuals preserve their intellectual integrity and do original thinking, for under no other conditions can the individuals, or the collective organizations which they compose, be developed into complete and consistent wholes.

Collective thought is always wildly irrational. For instance, a queen died a few days ago and instantly the whole of Christendom indulged in the most extravagant and senseless demonstrations of grief and mourning, not over the death of a woman, but over the passing away of the queen of a mighty empire, and all because the collective intellectual vision had become obscured by considerations relating to imaginary facts instead of those which relate to reality. Now, in truth, the life of every intelligent woman in the world is of more importance to the world than was that of Victoria, for their lives are for the most part useful and beneficial, while hers was for the most part useless and harmful. Another queen is to be married and every detail of the affair is published to the world and dwelt upon as though it was of the utmost and happiest importance. The marriage of any young woman is of more importance than that of Wilhelmina. For the chances are that other women will bring forth and raise children who will become useful members of the human family, while the unfortunate Wilhelmina can only become the mother of another miserable queen or king who will rule over mankind and add to the sum total of human wretchedness and misery.

The great and divine Sara was here a short time since. She met with a merited and highly flattering recognition and was received into home circles, while the unwedded mothers who live in your midst, regardless of merit or worth, live lives of dreary desolation for lack of a kindly look of recognition or a sympathetic word or an opportunity of fairly earning the necessities for themselves and their socially stigmatized offspring.

The administrative agencies of the so-called civilized countries of the earth have recently engaged in an unwarranted and cruel assault upon China, and the whole Christian world has, by silent acquiescence, stamped this monstrous iniquity with its approval. Now, in the face of all these facts, can it be fairly said that, taken collectively, mankind think or act rationally? Taken as individuals, men and women think with some degree of accuracy and act with kindness and consideration towards their fellows, but collectively they are irrational, inconsiderate and brutal. No higher standard of popular intelligence is to be expected until the thought-benumbing influences of paternal government are withdrawn. Until man is governed less, all appeals to popular intelligence will be as vain and futile as the casting of pearls before swine.

REV. MILTON S. TERRY: I think perhaps in addition to all the wise and good things that have been said here to-night we might have told this further thought, that even these menaces, the worst—and all of them, in fact, that have been named before us—may be in some sense blessings in disguise. And there may be a wisdom and a power that will turn them all to account, some way, somehow, which we cannot discern. It is wonderful how the great evils which we fear, get frightened at, and talk about, sometimes turn out to be an occasion of great reward, and if an old civilization and an old church and an old religion goes down, a better one will come up in its place, and the only possible way to get the better one is to put out of existence the old one, or get it down out of sight and give the other a chance to grow.

Now, I never could understand what mosquitoes were good for—especially when I have been down in New Jersey. I don't know what bed bugs were made for, and a good many other things of that kind. There was a pestiferous family lived up in the hills somewhere, a terror to all the neighborhood. A rattlesnake bit one of the boys; they sent for the doctor, and they got the thing patched up so he might survive, but they were so fearful of the boy's recovery that they sent for the preacher, and he came and took in the situation and prayed, "Oh, Lord, we thank thee for the rattlesnakes; we thank thee that thou didst send this rattlesnake to bite Jim. Now send another rattlesnake to bite Tom and another rattlesnake to bite Bill, and then send a great big rattlesnake to bite the old woman, for we believe there is nothing under heaven will save this Weaver family but rattlesnakes." Now, how far may the idea in that prayer be applied all around? It has been suggested that the centuries are going on anyhow, menaces or not. I remember two lines among the quatrains of Omar Khayyam:

"When you and I beyond the veil have passed,
Oh, but the long, long time this world will last."

And he to whom a thousand years are as one day doesn't reckon much with a century sometimes, if it happens to come in the darker ages. All through the darker times there is coming a better time, and if troubles and menaces are on this side and that side, it is only to prepare the way for better things to follow. Now, then, wouldn't it be just as well, instead of looking at the dark side and getting too much frightened, suppose we should sing that hymn which I have heard some preachers announce before now—and possibly you have heard before:

"Ye fearful souls, fresh courage take,
The clouds ye so much dread,
Are big with mercy, and shall break
In blessings o'er your head."

MR. WALTER L. SINTON: It seems to me from the spiritual standpoint that the question before us is an absurdity, because it presupposes the progress of the coming century and that the past century has afforded something we would like to retain. Now, I have failed to find anything in it worthy of retention. The progress of the Nineteenth Century and that which we expect in the Twentieth Century is already settled. It is not a question of inventions; it is not a question of material progress in that sense, except as an aid to individual development. And, therefore, in that sense I can agree with what every speaker has said here to-night. I can go with Professor Herron on everything he said, although he took up the subject from a materialistic standpoint. The true question is this: "Seek ye first the Kingdom of Heaven," and the second is righteousness or right doing. Now, the one without the other isn't worth anything. We can only have collective righteousness when we are willing to have individual righteousness.

DR. JAMES E. STUBBS: We have had imperialism—still harping that old song again; then we have had the Herron flapping his wings over the city, dropping down those things which made our hearts shiver, and then we came to another which made us think we were at a funeral. The speeches during the evening have been rather on a minor strain. I draw this one fact from what I have heard, that all men are liars, and some women occasionally make mistakes. Dishonesty in public men is one of the greatest menaces to this country at the present time; from the highest to the lowest, with the exception of our exalted and highly respected President, and I will not except anybody else. All men are not going to get rich, nor poor. If all were millionaires, who would do my servant's work in my kitchen? We have got to have hewers of wood and carriers of water. One rails at wealth, another at entertainments. They all have their places. I say there is no particular thing that is a menace to the Twentieth Century.

MRS. NANCY B. IRVING: It seems to me that the thing which is the greatest menace to civilization is interference.

Burke said "our manners, our civilization and all the good things connected with manners and civilization have, in this European

world of ours, depended for ages upon two principles—the spirit of a gentleman and the spirit of religion.”

This is true of American civilization, and this Twentieth Century abortion is the result of interference with the free play—note the word “play”—of the spirit of religion, which includes the spirit of a gentleman.

Something has checked the play of spirituality; that is to say, something has checked the ripening of men, for all that civilization is is only the associating of ripened, or partially ripened men, and savagery, only men in the raw.

Spirituality is the fruition of the physical and the intellectual and carries with it all powers, the chief of which is the combination of the analytical with the synthetical capacities: the truly spiritual man, and I use the term generically, meaning women as well, sees the ensemble, the all-together: has the cosmic consciousness: sees the relation between the intellectual and the physical parts of man and his relation to the rest of the universe. Such a man is never a reformer: he is a regenerator and a “fisher of men:” he sees that interference with the play of the natural hurts man: his manners, his civilization: and the twisted thing we call religion, which is not religion at all, but its negation, for religion is spirituality practicalized, is responsible for the assumption implied in our discussion, that our civilization will cease: it will cease: it is as good as the men who make it: but there is a better one possible, and in the “large leisure” of the years, if not now soon, there will be no children in factories: they will play on free land: no men in business as we know it now, they will be playing at the enchanting game of living instead of at usury: no prostitutes of either sex, they will be playing at procreation and this earthly life be a romance and all men gentlemen, unafraid, who will not brook interference.

THE CHAIRMAN: One great beauty about this job of mine is that I get the last crack at the thing. I trust that none of you hereafter will pursue wealth; nor have any religion; nor hold any kings or queens. Seriously, however, it seems to me there are two or three things that run through all that has been said and that stand out from everything that has been said as general ideas, and it can be summed up in what Miss Addams said, that we don’t trust the people enough. The final word of it all will be found down among the plain children and the common people, and when you find a great, wise man that gets his hand upon the heart of the world you will find a man who believes that. That is why the American people can face these dangers so cheerfully. We know that, after all, God is not in Heaven, God is here; He is with the people, and every

American citizen walks with the conviction that, after all, when they get through monkeying over there in the Philippines or in Cuba, or with their trusts or anything else, sometime or other they have got to come back to Him and He will settle it, and the American people have always settled the thing right. I believe the good old ship of state is going to sail on in spite of the storms and dangers.

Adjourned.

JOSEPH W. HINER, Secretary.

ONE HUNDRED AND NINTH MEETING

MARCH 14, 1901

NINETY-FOUR PRESENT

SUBJECT:

Have We Violated Our Obligations to Cuba ?

CHAIRMAN: JUDGE HENRY V. FREEMAN

ADDRESSES BY

MR. FRANKLIN MACVRAUGH
MR. WILLIAM H. BUSBEY

COL. HENRY L. TURNER
MR. VICTOR S. YARROS

GENERAL DISCUSSION BY

REV. R. A. WHITE
MR. RUSH C. BUTLER
MR. SLASON THOMPSON
MR. JAMES A. FULLENWIDER

MR. NORMAN P. WILLARD
MR. FRANK J. LOESCH
MR. SIGMUND ZEISLER
MR. DANIEL M. LORD

MR. HENRY RIGGS RATHBONE



ONE HUNDRED AND NINTH MEETING.

Held at the Palmer House, Thursday, March 14, 1901.

Ninety-four present.

Have We Violated Our Obligations to Cuba?

THE SECRETARY: Three years ago the Sunset Club discussed the question, "Should the United States intervene in Cuba?" Intervention followed within a very few days. I do not claim of course that the intervention was in consequence of anything that was said at the Sunset Club, but nevertheless the Sunset Club has a sort of paternal feeling for the Cuban Republic, and it is possible that the Cuban Republic looks back to the Sunset Club with some such emotions as Mark Twain experienced at the grave of Adam. Under the circumstances the Sunset Club ought to enlighten the public as to the obligations, if any, resulting from our intervention in Cuba. It will now perform this duty.

We have with us this evening Judge Freeman of the Superior Court of Cook County, who has kindly consented to preside. I want to tell you that for the last two or three years he has sat upon the Appellate bench of Cook County, and has consequently been in an atmosphere where decorum and dignity always prevail. You will therefore please refrain from police court methods in this discussion. If you do not I am sure the Judge will be very much embarrassed and we did not bring him here to embarrass him. I now have the pleasure of introducing your chairman, Judge Henry V. Freeman.

THE CHAIRMAN: After what has been said it is needless to say that I arise with a feeling of embarrassment. I understand that the principal duty of the chairman of the evening is to keep the peace, including I suppose his own; and I presume therefore that I shall not be expected to make any lengthy speech in the way of introduction of the speakers who are to come afterwards, or keep you very long from the feast of reason which is to follow. One of the prerogatives of a

presiding officer is to exercise the tyranny which rightfully belongs to his office by giving in advance a sort of a rehash of the arguments which the speakers who are to follow have carefully prepared, and steal as much of their thunder as he can. I have endeavored on this occasion to post myself so as to carry out that time honored rule, but Mr. MacVeagh who sits next to me has carefully turned his manuscript up side down and has utterly declined in the course of our conversation, notwithstanding my suggestive intimations, to give me the least idea of what he is going to say. I am therefore at a loss in that regard and as I cannot say anything about what his speech is going to be I think I had better not attempt to say anything about the others, who have likewise kept their own counsel.

There is one thing that is this evening in all our minds, and which it seems appropriate should be referred to here; that is the recent death of Ex-President Harrison. It is, I think, the very general feeling that in his death the country has suffered a great loss. There are comparatively few men who ever stand in the unique position occupied by an ex-president of the United States, with his wide experience of public affairs, not only internal, but of the relations which this country bears to other lands; and when to that broad experience there is united literary capacity, good sound common sense, a high character and the confidence of a large portion of the public, it is indeed a serious loss for the country to be deprived of the advice and counsel of such a man to whom, by reason of his disinterestedness, having no futher political aspirations, all the people are disposed to listen. Such a man can exercise a commanding influence, when like General Harrison he has much to say worthy of attention. The country can ill afford to lose such a man in the fullness of his intellectual powers. Only recently he has given expression to his views upon subjects kindred to that which we are to discuss here tonight.

The question before us is exceedingly important. Many of us in our student days used to hear about "Punic faith"; and the Frenchman is never tired of speaking of "perfidious Albion." There are those who believe that in our relations to Cuba we are taking measures which may result in establishing upon our Southeastern coast a people who may ultimately come to entertain toward us a somewhat similar feeling to that which the Romans and Carthaginians entertained toward each other and which France entertains toward England. However that may be, there are those who believe that the destiny of this country, of the generations yet unborn, of those who are standing—as some one has said—upon what are the now silent shores of the far off coming time, is to be shaped by the action which this country may take upon this and other questions of similar import relating to our insular possessions. However, as I do not wish to anticipate what the speakers may have to say upon this subject, and in pursuance of the suggestion which I have before ascribed to the Secretary, that the principal duty of the presiding officer is to keep the peace, I will not detain you from the discussion of the topic of the evening. At a recent conference held in this city of men who represented the universities throughout the land a story was told of the experience of an American in Italy at the time of the battle of Manila Bay. Being unable to read Italian, he procured an interpreter to translate for him the account of the battle as it appeared in the Italian papers, and the translation wound up somewhat as follows: "After the conclusion of

the engagement the band upon the Olympia played "There are spots on the banner," and "It will be very warm in the city to-night." The question which we are to discuss is whether there are any spots on the banner, but I trust that the discussion will not engender such warmth as to produce "a hot time in the old town" in anything but a figurative and musical sense.

I now have the pleasure of introducing the first speaker of the evening. Through some twisting of the program, exactly why and wherefore I am not informed, the negative has the first innings. I am always glad to have the opportunity to listen, as I know you will be, to the first speaker on the negative. He is an old Yale man, and whatever an old Yale man of the right sort says is always worth listening to, and without further delay I present Mr. Franklin Mac-
Veagh, the first speaker on the negative.

MR. FRANKLIN MAC VEAGH: I think I may be able to interpret the fact that Mr. Busbey and myself, who hold the negative of this question and normally would come after the other speakers, are placed before the other speakers. I am told that this club is not in sympathy with Mr. Busbey and me on this question and I think the Secretary thought he might just as well throw the tail in with the hide and give us all the disadvantages that an evening could afford. I have this written speech. I found it very difficult to write a short speech on a long subject this time, but whether you are pleased to have me have a written speech or not, there is one man in this audience who is indebted to me and is not afraid to say so. The gentleman who does us the favor to act as stenographer came up to me and said, "Have you got a written speech?" I said, "Yes." He said, "God bless you."

Let me begin by admitting that our declaration of April 20th, 1898, and the Teller amendment especially, did not contemplate the protectorate we are establishing in Cuba. The declaration expressed quite a different course to be pursued toward Cuba, after the war; and that course has been abandoned. We were to free Cuba from Spain, and then let go and come home. We have freed Cuba and have not let go, have not come home, don't intend to let go entirely, and don't intend to come home without making a bridge by which we can go back, if we think it necessary to the maintenance of Cuba's freedom or independence.

There is no advantage to the argument in obscuring this change of plan; for the change cannot be and need not be denied. And it need not be apologized for—as I hope to make clear.

I am in a mood to admit a good deal; but I really cannot say that we have dishonored ourselves before the world, by our change of plan, or that the world thinks so. I sincerely think we have done ourselves great credit. The change was forced on us it is true—but we accepted the unexpected responsibilities like a really great nation.

Nor was it required of us to break a pledge in order to accept the unexpected responsibilities following on the war and forced on our acceptance—in order to govern, reconstruct and protect a helpless nation thrown suddenly and wholly unexpectedly on our hands. For our voluntary statement of what we intended to do can only be called a pledge by courtesy—or by discourtesy. No one asked us to make this statement. No one expected us to make it. No one cared whether we made it or not. We made it to please ourselves—and failed.

Teller's amendment was an honest though shallow statement of what we supposed we should be able to do; and of what we should have been most happy to do. But vastly to our cost we found we were not allowed to do it; and that, long ago, ended the Teller amendment so far as its definite plan went. It did not end, it did not affect in any degree the essential thing in the mind of Congress. What Congress essentially meant to proclaim was that the United States was going into the war with clean, unselfish hands; and would come out with clean, unselfish hands. The error Congress made was in attempting to define exactly what the Nation would do, when it was utterly ignorant of the situation as it was, and as it almost immediately revealed itself to be; and when it had taken no statesmanlike pains to study and conceive that situation. What we meant to stand for, and are standing for today as loyally as in 1898, is the welfare of Cuba; and without any purpose to annex Cuba or to exploit it for our benefit. We meant to spend our lives and our treasure for it; and to take no pay. We have done this as we intended. But we have done and shall do very much that we never for a moment contemplated; and for that too we ask no recompense. The only protection we ask is, that our great sacrifices shall not have been in vain—shall not have been wasted wantonly.

The spirit of the Teller amendment then lives uncontradicted; though its plan became a back number when Santiago fell. For when Santiago fell there fell too that whole fabric of American misconception of which the Teller amendment was the most conspicuous expression.

Teller's amendment supposes us to have left Cuba nearly three years ago—and to be at home in our beds. In the contemplation of that sage statement we haven't been in Cuba since the war. And some Teller people are waking up to actual Teller facts two or three years behind time. Instead of leaving Cuba to the Cubans we have been governing it, during pleasure, under a strong and elaborated military government. What the Platt Amendment provides is relief from this—the exchange of an external government of force for the mere right and duty to generously protect Cuba's own government from possible loss of independence or freedom. A protectorate is in form a shadow on national independence; but in this case it actually asserts and defends it. The real question as to a necessary protectorate like this is whether it is for the benefit of the protected or the protector; and if any American is willing to say, that we are not establishing this protectorate to generously fulfill our duty to Cuba, and with a perfectly justifiable and moderate regard for complications that might involve our Nation as the friend and necessary defender of Cuba, he will not be answered by me. The wisdom, the necessity, the statesmanship of the policy of a protectorate are questions to be discussed; but I hold our motives to be above controversy.

And now why was it that the Teller course of action—to free Cuba and then immediately leave it and come home—lasted but a few months?

It was because war was declared with Spain, as I have already said, in almost complete ignorance of the situation in Cuba, as that situation would affect our relations to the Cubans after the war. We passed the Teller Amendment in perfect good faith at a time when the situation in Cuba, as it afterwards became known, made such a

policy wholly impossible. Teller's facts were all fictions. This was made clear within a few weeks. All of this was a complete surprise to us. Congress was so sure the Cubans already had a government—fit and ready to take to itself the future of the new nation—that we came within an ace of recognizing it. What more natural then that Congress should proclaim its intention to merely drive Spain out of Cuba and immediately let the Cubans govern themselves—they having as Congress supposed a competent government of their own waiting and eager for the opportunity.

We knew very soon that there was no such government—and that Cuba and the Cubans were on our hands. We didn't want them on our hands; we never expected them to be on our hands; but there they were. Instead of a country we could enter as an ally and march out of with a vote of thanks from an organized people and government—as Teller dreamed—we found ourselves in a political no-man's-land with an unorganized and disorganized people thrown helplessly on our care. The curtain had risen on a drama entirely unexpected. Even the Cuban army cut no figure—scarcely appearing on the scene. And the shadowy government that was expected to advance out of a remoteness of the mountains and take the front of the stage, retired further into its strange indefiniteness; and on into the region of the shades altogether. What became of it is so unsubstantial, that its fate is not even stuff for history. And even the revolution, that seemed to us all a thing of substantial possibilities, immediately revealed itself as having had, under Weyler's terrible success of strangulation, but one short year, at the most, to live.

It would be difficult to find another instance of such momentous legislation as our hurried declaration of war, in which statesmanship figured so little. All facts were misconceived and all results were unforeseen. We went out to cut a mere Gordian knot with a single stroke of a sword; and to then come home untrammelled, unaffected and without loss of time. We cut the Gordian knot quickly and easily; but we didn't come home, for we couldn't—and so far from being unaffected and untrammelled we have Cuba's future in our keeping, we have changed the character of our national greatness and responsibilities, and have extended indefinitely the whole limits of our future. To the statesmanship of Congress the situation in Cuba beyond Santiago was unforeseen; Porto Rico was not a part of the game; and the Philippines were not remembered. But within a fortnight the myriad Philippines with their Filipinos were on our hands for good and all; in a brief time Porto Rico fell into our lap like ripe fruit; and about the same time we began to govern Cuba with elaborated military methods with the certain issue, that we must protect Cuban independence, by some form of protectorate, for a long time and possibly to the end of the world. All these vast changes were unforeseen, and all these great new obligations were unprovided for; for the statement injected by Teller merely denied that any change or new obligations could by any possibility arise.

It is a distinction of our great country that it has a fine reserve of statesmanship. And what Congress in its excitement failed in, the safe national reserve of statesmanship has since supplied and will supply.

All men know that the Cubans could not have governed themselves during the last three years. We were anxious enough to relieve

ourselves of the responsibility of governing them and of standing on the Teller amendment; but this could not be thought of—and was not thought of by anybody, not even by Teller himself. The same obligations which obliged us to go to war obliged us and are now obliging us to govern Cuba; and those obligations will oblige us to protect her from other nations, and from herself, in the future. We have done our utmost to help her form a government of her own; and we shall, at the earliest moment it is safe to do so, hand the government over to the Cuban people. But it would be idle to deny and criminal to disregard the fact, that the astonishing revelations of the Cuban situation when we entered Cuba—so different from our previous understanding of it—and our profound and ample experience since, both during the war and during the nearly three years of actual government, have taught us once and for all that the chief peril to the independence and freedom of Cuba is to be from within and not from without. And if that peril is to be averted it must be averted by us—and for this we must have a way to interfere. We are committed in our own eyes, in the eyes of the Cubans and in the eyes of all other nations to the protection of Cuba. But if we are the protector of Cuba, why does not that of itself establish a protectorate? And if there is to be a protectorate, how utterly unjust and unfair it would be to the protector to have no opportunity of influence whatever, except at the point of the bayonet when the mischief has been done.

And on the other hand in protecting Cuba we assume serious responsibilities toward all other nations. If we refuse to let these nations deal with Cuba as they deal with other free and independent governments—if they cannot call Cuba to account without having to reckon with us—then we must, in turn, see to it that Cuba doesn't give the other nations provocation and just offense. It would be an impossible international position otherwise. But how can we guarantee such treatment of foreign nations unless we have the opportunity to influence Cuba's actions?

And the protectorate resolves itself into this: If Cuba can maintain her freedom and independence without aid then she will be as independent as England; and if it shall sometime happen that the freedom of her people or the independence of her government is in danger then she will have the timely and generous help of our greater wisdom and more ample power.

How could such a people—just rescued from subjection, inexperienced in self-government, still confused as to the elements of freedom, untried in the exercise of national power and too poor and weak to maintain an army of much importance or a navy of any importance—be more fortunately placed than the Cubans will be? How could there be a more generous or noble office for a great nation than the one we are to assume?

I am aware of the devotion, among portions of our citizens, to the idea of bare national independence for all sorts and conditions of men. This devotion seems to rise in enthusiastic parallels with all revelations of national or racial inexperience or incapacity. With these gentlemen it is independence or nothing. But fortunately for the weak and the undeveloped nations there is something for them besides impracticable independence; and they are not obliged to cease to exist because they are not yet ready to maintain their liberties within, against all the internal strifes, or their independence without against

all aggressions of the world. And we are not obliged to turn unfit and impracticable governments loose on mankind. There are political stages between nothing and independence—stages of education, training and experience in personal freedom and self-government. You cannot buy freedom ready made at a constitutional convention; and self-government let us remember is the highest political accomplishment known to man. But there is a chance for the weak nations and the undeveloped nationalities—a chance for their liberties, for their self-government, for their uninterrupted development—so long as great powers like the United States hold it to be a duty to share with them their experience, their self-control, their judgement and their strength.

THE CHAIRMAN: The kaleidoscope of history presents curious changes and combinations. The Spanish-American war will be regarded by the future historian as a dramatic historical event. The dominion of Spain in Cuba in this Western world may be said to have begun with the discovery by Columbus in 1492. It is an interesting fact that in that same year the Spanish King and Queen succeeded in accomplishing the conquest of Granada, and banished the Moors from Spain, where the Arabian Kingdom had held dominion for more than seven centuries. It was in 1492, as Irving tells us, that Boabdill surrendered Granada and from the hill which still bears the name of the "Last Sigh of the Moor" took his last view of the Alhambra and the beautiful vega which surrounds the city. The soldiers who took part in our war terminated the dominion of Spain in the Western hemisphere as Ferdinand and Isabella terminated the Moorish dominion in Spain. The next speaker of the evening had the fortune to take part in two of the great historic wars, which this country has fought out, the Civil war and the Spanish-American war as well. He has had some familiarity with Cuba and with the Cuban people from actual experience as a soldier, and I take pleasure in introducing to you as the first speaker on the affirmative Col. Henry L. Turner.

COL. HENRY L. TURNER: For the first time in my experience as a soldier I have met with a complete surprise. I expected a rattling defense on the question before us by Mr. MacVeagh, but as I understand it he acknowledges the corn but justifies the sin. In fifteen minutes I shall have to speak like to lightning to say half the things which can be said on our side of the question, therefore I apologize to you, gentlemen, if I speak with great rapidity.

In the little Island of Cuba a brave people had for many years fought, sacrificed, suffered and died for the attainment of their holiest and highest aspiration, viz.:—freedom and independence as a sovereign nation. So well and successfully had they striven that the American President in a message to Congress declared his conviction that Spain could never put down their revolution. There came to us across the water their cry for help. But it was ever a cry for help towards the fruition of their soul's desire, absolute sovereignty as a nation—never a whisper, never a glancing reference towards annexation, absorption, a protectorate or suzerainty.

And we, the American people in our homes and offices, in our pulpits and on our platforms, in Congress and the Cabinet, for months discussed this subject and on the 20th of April, 1898, announced our decision and registered our purpose in the following resolutions by which we declared:

1. That the Cuban people are and of right ought to be free and independent.
2. That we proposed by force of arms to make that freedom and independence effective.
3. That the United States would exercise no permanent jurisdiction or control, but would leave all government and control to the people of Cuba.

What is the nature of these declarations?

President McKinley has designated them as "our sacred guaranties to Cuba." The Republican and Democratic platforms refer to them as "our pledge to Cuba." But it is said this was no pledge because no one had a right to demand a pledge of us. Is the American promise valueless unless riveted down by a consideration? Is the American pledge not a pledge unless in the hand of a creditor for value received?

But in fact it was as solemn, explicit and binding a pledge, a compact, as human language could frame. It was a compact with the people of Cuba that their aspirations should be realized. It was a compact with Spain that if we dispossessed her we would claim no rights ourselves. It was a compact with every European nation whose interference we forbade that we ourselves would keep hands off from Cuba. It was a pledge made with everything unselfish in our history. It was a pledge to the spirit of the 20th century, with the American conscience; with truth and honor everywhere. A compact by which the American people in the presence of men, of the angels and the Almighty, with uplifted hands swore to place the Cuban people on the throne of absolute sovereignty and to leave them untrammelled, undisturbed, unvexed in the isolation of their little island.

Let us for a moment examine the wording and construction of this pledge, and see if this be not true. What is it to be free? Webster defines it as being: Exempt from subjection to the will of others; not under restraint, control or compulsion. That, then, is the condition in which the English language bound us to leave free Cuba. What is it to be independent? Webster says only those are independent who are not subject to the control of others; not subordinate, but separate from, exclusive. If our language means anything, we promised to make Cuban independence so effective that the Cuban nation would not be in any degree or in any sense subject to the control of any power on earth, ourselves included.

We pledged ourselves further not to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control. Looking at our dictionaries, we find we promised not to exercise power over Cuba, not to wield the right of authority; not to do anything which should in any way "*check or restrain*" its government. That's what the language of those resolutions, as construed by the English-speaking world, binds us *not* to do.

But we pledged ourselves also in third clause: "To leave the government and control of the Island to its people." What is it to "leave" anything? It is to quit it; to cease from it; to abandon it. Therefore, by the very words we used we bound ourselves in chains mightier than those of steel or iron to quit the government and control of Cuba; to "abandon" it; to forsake it forever.

But did we really mean all that our words demand? By an inference as forceful as logic itself, when we took a clause from our own Declaration of Independence and included it verbatim in that resolution, saying that the people of Cuba "are and of right ought to be free

and independent," and that we proposed to make them so. We meant to say to Cuba and to the world that we bound ourselves to make that people's freedom and independence in all respects as unlimited as our own.

What did the great State of Massachusetts mean? Listen to her honored Senator, Lodge, and learn. Senator Lodge, April 13, 1898: "The President has asked us to authorize him to set up a government 'in Cuba which shall be a 'stable government,' a government capable of 'observing international obligations. What kind of a government can 'alone observe international obligations? Only an independent government."

What did the great State of Ohio mean? Listen to her mouthpiece, Senator Foraker, and find out. Senator Foraker, April 13, 1898: "If 'we are so unfortunate as to have war, will it not result in the absolute 'freedom and independence of the people of the Island of Cuba? 'Unquestionably so."

What did Indiana mean? Her able Senator, Turpie, was not uncertain in stating her position. Listen. Senator Turpie, Indiana, April 14, 1898: "I am especially in love, sir, with the idea of Cuban nationality, and of the capacity which nationality has to deal with debt. A 'sovereign nationality deals absolutely with debt. That is one of the 'functions of 'nationality.' We should leave Cuba after we have intervened and driven out Spain as free in its career, unfettered in its 'course as the United States were left by France when she withdrew 'her forces at the close of our Revolutionary war."

What did Delaware mean? Hark to the verdict of shame on our recent course from her renowned Senator Gray. Senator Gray, of Delaware, in the Senate: "I do not believe that there is any thought now 'or ever has been, that we are, forever after this matter shall be accomplished to exercise a protectorate or suzerainty over that island or any 'government which may be set up there under our auspices."

What did Arkansas mean? Senator Jones tells us: Senator Jones, April 16, 1898: "On last Monday the President's message came in and 'there was a sense of disappointment that the word independent was 'not mentioned, that the only recommendation made was that there 'should be a stable government. Stable seemed to imply that the government of the United States should exercise supervision there to prevent an overthrow, to maintain, uphold or sustain whatever government might be established in the island. That was what many did 'not believe ought to be said."

What did Missouri mean? Senator Cockrell, on April 20, 1898, says: "I hope the President will accept the resolutions which have 'been adopted as an unequivocal declaration on the part of Congress 'that the Cuban people must be free, and that not one particle of constraint or restraint shall be imposed on them by the power of the 'United States, either directly or indirectly."

What did the Republican party mean? In the Republican campaign text-book issued by the National Republican Committee, we find this statement: The Constitutional Convention of Cuba will meet in November with the purpose of establishing the *absolute* independence of the island, which was promised before the first step was taken to free it from the tyranny of Spain.

What did the American Army mean when it enlisted under the assurance of that pledge? I marched shoulder to shoulder with that

army. I penetrated its utmost heart, and I know that its purpose was to gain possession of Cuba and through our government make a free gift of genuine, absolute independence, without checks, restraints, protectorates or suzerainties.

Are there not "free and independent" nations enough to illustrate what we meant by that expression? There is the free and independent Republic of Switzerland, but it is not shadowed by any "irreducible minimum" of subject conditions.

There is the free and independent Republic of France, but it knows nothing of an outside suzerainty.

There is the free and independent Republic of Mexico, yet its tropical, debt-incurring people know nothing of foreign check or restraint.

And here is the United States, which would not tolerate for an instant any oversight of its foreign relations, its finances or its internal affairs.

So it appears that by the language of the pledge itself, by the explanations of its meaning given by political parties, by members of Congress and by the people, by the existing illustrations of what free and independent nations are, we pledged ourselves to give Cuba an absolute, unconditional independence, and to leave her people free from any sort of supervision or interference.

But what is the sort of freedom and independence we are now offering in fulfilment of our pledge? Here is our ultimatum:

Clause 1 provides:

"1. That the government of Cuba shall never enter into any treaty or other compact with any foreign power or powers which will impair or tend to impair the independence of Cuba." But who is to decide whether any proposed treaty will tend to impair Cuba's independence? Who but that party to the agreement which has the mailed hand, the United States? What is the result? That Cuba can never make any treaty or foreign alliance of any kind for any purpose without first having come to the President of the United States, with hat in hand, saying: "Please, Sir, will you allow us to sign this paper?" Is there any sort or shadow of independence or sovereignty in that? Not a ghost or a scintilla of it.

Clause 2 provides: "That said government shall not assume or contract any public debt, to pay the interest upon which and to make reasonable sinking fund provision for the ultimate discharge of which the ordinary revenues of the island, after defraying the current expenses of government, shall be inadequate." But who is to decide what is a reasonable sinking fund, or that a sinking fund is necessary? Who is to say what are ordinary revenues? Who is to say what are current expenses? Who but that party to the agreement which has a standing army with which to enforce its decision? Who but the United States? This clause takes away absolutely that feature of sovereignty, of nationality, which our Senators insisted essential to independence.

Clause 3 provides: "That the government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty."

Who is to decide whether Cuban independence is in danger? Who is to say when the Cuban government is inadequate to protect life, property and individual liberty? Who but the United States? My friends, that clause alone tears the beautiful flag of Cuba Libre into shreds and patches.

There can be no national freedom, no independence where an outside nation has the right to step in at any moment and say, "Your government is a failure." Oh, friends, this which we are offering Cuba is as far from the fulfilment of our compact as Mars is from Jupiter.

Section 7 provides: "That, to enable the United States to maintain the independence of Cuba and to protect the people thereof, as well as for its own defense, the government of Cuba will sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling or naval stations." That makes it possible for our great navy not only to protect free Cuba from attack, but to turn our guns inward and batter the life out of these people should they ever become obstreperous.

Gentlemen, it is certain that any attitude on our part, the inevitable logic of which is that we must use our army and navy to shoot to death the Cuban people, and to hammer down their cities in case they refuse to accept our suzerainty, is the quintessence of repudiation and an abandonment of the noble and philanthropic position we have assumed.

It appears, then, that by our recent ultimatum we say to Cuba and the world:

We shall keep our pledge, but with the heart of the pledge cut out.

We shall make good our guaranties, but with the enacting clause erased.

We shall give you freedom, but with the essence of freedom eliminated.

We shall make you independent, but with those great essential elements of sovereignty—treaty-making—debt-incurring—inviolability from outside intervention, obliterated.

My little daughter has a doll. We wind it up and pull a string and it cries out "Papa," "Mama," and waves its little arms and legs. That, gentlemen, is independent sovereignty as we offer it to Cuba.

It is urged that this pledge of ours was a mistake, a piece of egregious national folly, but I say to you, it was no mistake, no folly, no matter of impulse, emotion or sentiment, but the well considered, carefully drawn declaration of a great nation's renunciation of ambition, self-seeking and spirit of conquest. It was the brightest jewel in all political history, flashing to the world a free and powerful nation's self-abnegation. It was a people's sublime sacrifice for down-trodden humanity. It was the glorious embodiment of the Golden Rule in International ethics. It was the same kind of folly, of over-emotion, of sentiment which has made Gustave Adolphus' disinterested crusade for German liberty the brightest spot in all the European centuries, and by just so much as our government or people curtail the complete fulfilment of that abnegation, by so much do we minimize the grandeur of one of the noblest of our National acts, by so much do we dim the luster and destroy the laurels which cluster about our National banner.

But even were it a mistake, is the Nation to teach its children that the allegation of mistaken wisdom is a sufficient justification for breach of contract, that overflowing emotion or sentiment vitiates a binding obligation?

It is said that the Cuban people will abuse their debt-incurring power and thus precipitate the danger of seizure by some foreign power inimical to our interests. But we realized this possibility when we placed ourselves on record and disregarded it. Mexico, a similar people, has held her own for years, and the Monroe Doctrine is our all-sufficient surety against future trouble over Cuba with Europe.

It is claimed that the Cubans, being Latin Americans and of a mercurial temperament, are unfitted for self-government. But Chili, of the same temperamental characteristics, has maintained its freedom and independence and sovereignty for seventy years.

It is said that life and property will not be safe under a Cuban republic. Have we any record of riots, and mobs, of lynchings and burnings at the stake in Cuba on which to base this charge? Could sovereign Cuba possibly outdo our record of failure to protect the free and independent black voters of the South? Can we ever look for a more terrific rebellion against constituted authority in weak little Cuba than raged in powerful America through four years of bloody war? Why make the tropical temperament of Cuba our excuse for demanding guaranties which the ice cool heart of the North cannot furnish?

President McKinley, in his recent inaugural address, attempted the justification of our course. He said:

"The principles which led to our intervention require that the 'fundamental law upon which the new government rests should be 'adapted to secure a government capable of performing the duties and 'discharging the functions of a separate nation, of observing its international obligations, of protecting life and property, insuring order, 'safety and liberty."

But he does not show, he cannot show, that the constitution which the Cubans have drawn fails in any respect to meet these requirements.

He does not demonstrate that the Cuban people are indisposed to, or incapable of maintaining such a government. He cannot show it, for we have given them no opportunity to demonstrate either their fitness or unfitness.

The President further said:

"The peace which we are pledged to leave to the Cuban people 'must carry with it the guaranties of permanence."

But this demand is an unjust, an impossible one. It is to require of the Cuban people that they pluck out of the womb of the unknown future the certainties of to-day. Who can foresee or provide for the illimitable risks of the unborn decades?

How can we, who have passed through seven great wars since our independence, who are at war to-day, how can we honorably insist on guaranties that the white wings of peace shall never cease to hover over Cuba?

But the President further says:

"Our enfranchisement of the people will not be completed until free 'Cuba shall 'be a reality, not a name; a perfect entity, not a hasty 'experiment, bearing within itself the elements of failure."

No truer words were ever spoken. But the pith of our repudiation, of our dishonor lies in the finality of our action, for by the present program we exclude the Cuban people from any hope or expectation that we will ever say to them:

"Oh, people of the Antilles, to-day free Cuba is a reality, not a name, a perfect entity, not a hasty experiment." By requiring a recognition in their constitution of our right of intervention, we make them a subject nation so long as that constitution shall last. Our protectorate is to continue not only until they demonstrate a stable government, but is to be permanent, perpetual, everlasting, eternal. It is not an arrangement for tutelage during minority. It is not a plan for careful tendance whilst the bud of Cuban ability blossoms into full flower. It

is not a guardianship whilst incompleteness develops into national perfection, but it is the stamp and seal of a finished disappointment. It is the irrevocable quenching of a people's hopes. It is the supreme tragedy of a brave people's final defeat. It is the writing of "Finis" in two million people's aspirations for a separate and sovereign existence.

Finally, Mr. President and Gentlemen, granting all that is claimed against the Cuban people, it yet is true that we considered all these things beforehand; we faced all risks, all dangers, all chances of future trouble, and calmly, coolly, with our eyes wide open, entered into this solemn engagement, and no afterthought, no subsequent development, can justify us in breaking the Nation's plighted faith.

But it is said that because of our great expenditure of blood and treasure we have a right to demand these concessions from Cuba.

Whilst generosity imposes the obligation of gratitude upon the recipient, it gives the giver no right to steal a house and lot or gobble up a country.

When benevolence presents its bill for benefits conferred, everything worthy or beneficent in the act of giving turns to dust and ashes.

Ah, friends, would not all the glory and grandeur of the Cross wither and fade away, would not everything that is worshipful and holy be lost from the divine Christ were he to demand recompense or reward for his free gift to man?

But it is said that the government we offer is freer—better, surer than their own. My friends, that has been Tyranny's plea since the world began.

When freedom seeks to force its blessings on unwilling lands there comes a change, swifter, more sweeping, more sure, more deadly, than any chemical change known to science, and lo, that which was freedom has become despotism.

In the final analysis this matter sifts down to this—that we promised this people bread and we give them a stone. We pledged them the unfettered sweep of the Eagle—and give them the tethered flight of the barnyard rooster. We guaranteed them National life—full, free, exhilarating and sublime—and we give them instead a gorgeous funeral.

Oh, Sir, it is with infinite sorrow that I find myself arrayed in criticism of my own people. But because I love my country, because I am jealous of its honor and its good name, I appeal to the American people to reverse our recent action and give free Cuba a fair chance. Let us make our National truth truer than verity itself. Let us swell the cup of our offered generosity to overflowing. Let us pile the fagots above our lust of Conquest and light a blaze of National faithfulness and honor so pure, so white, so glowing, so immortal, that all nations for all time may read their duty in its reflected splendor.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker of the evening who represents the negative is in the habit of addressing the public daily through the columns of the *Inter Ocean*, and needs no introduction. Mr. William H. Busbey of the *Inter Ocean*.

MR. WILLIAM H. BUSBEY: This is a great question. I am glad it is to be discussed for the next year by Americans. I have been interested in it ever since the first revolutionary war in Cuba. I have followed the Cuban struggle in sympathy with the Cubans, but I believe in being just as fair to Americans as to Cubans or any other foreign

people. I was greatly interested in what Mr. MacVeagh said. I was greatly interested in what Col. Turner said. I wish I could get rid of my part of the programme as easily as one of Col. Turner's men did with me to-day. I told him we were to discuss this question. I told him on which side Col. Turner was to be; that he was to hold that he had violated our obligations to Cuba. "Obligations"—he was a soldier of two wars too—"obligations! Hell, we are under no obligations to Cuba; she is under a heavy obligation to us." But I can't get rid of it that way. Seriously, as I say, it is a great question. Col. Turner assumes, in fact he declares, that Congress in 1898 entered into some unrepeatable compact, gave the Cubans a definite pledge that has been disregarded, or incurred an obligation that has been violated. The truth is that Congress, in 1898, simply proclaimed the intention of the United States government and indicated its purpose. This is not a matter of opinion, but an important historical fact to be discussed as a matter of record. Lest we forget this let me read from the record:

The President, in his message of April 11, 1898, asked authority "to take measures to secure a full and final termination of hostilities between the government of Spain and the people of Cuba, and to secure in the island the establishment of a stable government, capable of maintaining order and observing its international obligations insuring peace and tranquillity and the security of its citizens as well as our own." So far as the Executive was concerned, this was our declaration of intention.

In Congress, while there was unanimity on the question of compelling Spain to retire from Cuba, there was divided sentiment as to assumption of sovereignty on our part. The resolution offered in the House declared: "The President is authorized and directed to intervene at once to stop the war in Cuba, to the end and with the purpose of securing by the free action of the people thereof a stable and independent government in the island of Cuba." This resolution was adopted by a vote of 319 to 21. There was no doubt as to the intention of the House.

A substitute offered by the minority recognizing the independence of the Republic of Cuba, and authorizing the President to use the land and naval forces of the United States "in aiding the Republic of Cuba to maintain the independence hereby recognized," was rejected by a vote of 190 to 150. The Senate resolution submitted by Senator Davis of the Committee on Foreign Relations declared that the "people of the island of Cuba are and of right ought to be free and independent," and authorized the President to compel the withdrawal of Spain. This was amended by adding, "and the government of the United States hereby recognizes the Republic of Cuba as the true and lawful government of that island." The House, by overwhelming vote, amended this resolution so as to strike out the last clause, and the words "are and" so that the resolution then read that "the people of Cuba of right ought to be free and independent." In conference the words "and are" were reinserted. The resolution as finally adopted declared that the people of the island of Cuba are and of right ought to be free and independent, and that the government of the United States demands that the government of Spain at once relinquish its authority and government in the island, and that the United States "disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is

accomplished to leave the government and control of the island to its people."

This was the ante-war declaration of intention. It was an act of Congress repealable by act of Congress. There is in all the resolution no mention of the Republic of Cuba, and there was no compact with Cuba, but at the close of the war, after we had compelled Spain to relinquish the sovereignty of Cuba, we entered into an unrepealable compact with Spain. In that compact we pledged ourselves to carry out all the obligations of sovereignty in Cuba, to protect all the people in their property, religious and political rights. Spain ceded to us, not to Cuba, all buildings, wharves, barracks, forts, structures, public highways, in fact all the public property associated with sovereignty. We pledged ourselves to carry out all these obligations while our troops occupied the island, and then we pledged ourselves to secure from the government that should be formed in the island the assumption of obligations incurred by ourselves.

So far as the resolution of Congress was concerned, it might be claimed that it was no more binding than was the joint resolution of Congress adopted early in 1861 favoring a constitutional amendment to the effect that there should be thereafter no interference with slavery in the slave states by Congressional enactment or by constitutional amendment. This resolution was voted for by Republicans and Democrats, and the constitutional amendment as to slavery was ratified by Maryland and Ohio, but after the Civil war, in 1865, Congress, by overwhelming vote, submitted a constitutional amendment declaring the abolition of slavery in all the states. The proposed thirteenth amendment to the Constitution in 1861, if ratified, would have perpetuated slavery. The thirteenth amendment as ratified in 1865 abolished slavery. This was the result of war. So the resolution of Congress of 1898, adopted before the war with Spain, was necessarily modified particularly as to the assumption of sovereignty by the treaty with Spain, ratified in 1899. Spain did not treat with Cuba, but with the United States. We occupied Cuba in accordance, not with any agreement with Cubans, but in accordance with our treaty with Spain. We had declared an intention before the war in 1898. To carry out that intention we were compelled, after the war, to assume not only the responsibilities of occupation and pacification but of sovereignty. We disclaimed any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction or control before the war in April, 1898. We proceeded to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction and control under the preliminary treaty of peace in 1899. This was not by consent of the Cubans, but plainly in their interest. This was not strictly in keeping with our declaration of intention, but was in strict accordance with our obligations unavoidably assumed as an outcome of the war.

Have we violated any of these obligations? If so, in what particular? We compelled Spain to relinquish her sovereignty in Cuba. We assumed that sovereignty by treaty. We proceeded to establish a stable government. We brought peace to the island of Cuba. We reorganized the government. We put more Cubans in office ten times over than had ever held office before. We are now about to transfer our sovereignty. If we are governed by the obligations assumed, we must do this under conditions that will protect all the people of Cuba, Spaniards as well as Cubans, in their political, religious and property rights, and must protect our own interests as well. Up to this time we have not

failed at a single point. It will be time enough to say that we have violated our obligations to Cuba when we have performed the duties imposed upon us by the joint resolution of Congress in 1898 and by the treaty of Paris. Americans are better judges of the duties imposed upon us than are the Cubans. The latter are no more competent to advise or direct us now than they were in 1898. We, not they, dictated terms to Spain. We, not they, are making terms now. We, not they, won the independence of Cuba, and whatever else we do, we are bound to secure for the people of the island, for the radicals and conservatives, for the whites and blacks, a stable government. Our pledge is to civilization, and when we leave the island we are to leave it to the control, not of one faction or another, but to the people of Cuba. This was the intent of Congress in 1898. This has been our purpose all through the war and the interval of reconstruction since the war, and we have violated no obligation or pledge. We decided what was best for the Cubans in 1898, 1899 and 1900, and we are not departing from our policy in deciding what is best for them now.

THE CHAIRMAN: The position of the Evening Post is pretty well known upon this subject, and I need not say that the next speaker will take the affirmative. Mr. Victor S. Yarros of the Evening Post.

MR. VICTOR S. YARROS: An American essayist has defined an after-dinner speech as a platitude and a story. That definition needs revision. When an after-dinner speech happens to involve facts, and the facts don't suit you, invent facts, so an after-dinner speech may contain platitudes, inventions and stories. To my amazement we have heard new history to-night. It is greatly to be regretted that our distinguished friend, Mr. MacVeagh, was not in the Senate at the time the senators were hard up for an excuse. He would have given them one. You all know that during the five memorable days when this subject of Cuba was under alleged discussion not one Senator on the side of the administration had the courage or audacity, as you might put it, to make a defense or an apology of the attitude taken in the resolutions reported. The speech-making was left entirely to the other side. Some of it was good, some indifferent, some bad. But no defense was made of the resolution, the inference being that no defense was possible. But here is really an admirable defense, if you admit the facts, but the facts are, I am sorry to say, misread—I won't say misstated. If it were true—and I am dealing now with the first argument, not with the second, the gentlemen might settle their own differences—but this does not concern us. I deal now with the first argument, and shall take up the second next. Mr. MacVeagh admits—he has the frankness and candor to admit—that the Teller resolution, if it was a pledge, if it established an obligation, was repudiated. At least in letter, if not in spirit. But it was, he says, inevitable, absolutely inevitable. It was impossible for the United States to carry out the Teller resolutions, and the discovery that it was impossible was made the day after Santiago was reduced. Now I find no record that Congress, the President, the republican convention, the democratic convention, any public body of the United States, or even the Supreme Court of the United States—which was the latest body to deal with this subject, judiciously and vigorously—saw the facts in that light or dreamed of the explanation that the United States had discovered that it was absolutely impossible for it, however, willing it

might be, to carry out the spirit of the Teller resolution. When, about seven or eight months ago, Mr. Hale of Maine intimated a suspicion that the Cuban pledge was not going to be kept, Senator Spooner, pointing his finger to him, said: "It never shall be said that the United States has repudiated the letter or the spirit of its pledge to Cuba." That is in the record.

When the republican convention met at Philadelphia the Cuban plank was adopted. I have it here, but it is unnecessary to read it. In that it was stated that the Cuban pledge would be kept "to the letter." No distinction was made in that pledge between the spirit that might be kept and the letter which could not be kept. No distinction was made in that platform. That would not have been good politics. The plank further said that "to Cuba independence and self-government were conceded in the same voice with which war was declared." So, last June, the republican convention and the people of the United States and the press and Congress of the United States did not know that it had become impossible to keep the spirit of that pledge. I would like to know how Mr. MacVeagh discovered it, and why he did not come much sooner to our relief. It would have been a great relief. It has not been a pleasant task to accuse the President and the House and whoever else assisted in that policy of repudiation and dishonor. While here is a gentleman who had this wonderful, elaborate explanation and has not offered it until to-day. I congratulate the Sunset Club on this tardy but very remarkable discovery.

This is not all. In the Neely case, an important though a technical case, the Supreme Court, perhaps by way of dictum, because it really wasn't involved in the facts in controversy, went out of its way and discussed the status of Cuba and the relation of the United States to Cuba. It decided that this man Neely, the embezzler—one of the men who was governing Cuba—this embezzler might be extradited to Cuba in spite of the fact that our own military government was in charge. But why might he be sent without an extradition treaty? "Because," said the United States Supreme Court, "Cuba is not in any sense part of the United States; it is foreign in every sense. It is a separate nation. We have a perfect right to deal with it as a separate nation, though no treaty is possible at present, because it has no government." That extradition act of Congress was approved by the court, and the Supreme Court decided Neely might be extradited because Cuba was a foreign nation. But the United States Supreme Court in that case was called upon to deal with far-fetched objections on the part of counsel, and it stated—he having attacked the moral right of the United States to continue the military occupation of Cuba, that it could not go into that argument; that the same resolutions which declared that Cuba was to be free and independent, and which consequently made it foreign in every sense of the word, also stated that the United States had the right to go to Cuba and maintain government for the pacification thereof and retire only when that should be accomplished. The court virtually says: "It is not our function to decide whether or not pacification is an accomplished fact. We cannot undertake to say that Cuba is pacified. That is an executive task, and we naturally must assume the good faith of Congress and the administration. If our military government is still there, the assumption is that Cuba is not pacified, but as soon as Cuba is pacified our government must retire." That was the language of the resolution, and that language was made part of the Supreme Court

decision. So this decision, which was unanimous, had not discovered this wonderful thing that the spirit of the pledge could not be kept. I ask, in view of these facts, whether we can agree with Mr. MacVeagh's statement of history? We cannot. Secretary Root cannot agree with it. He does not say so. He wrote the report showing how wonderfully Cuba had adapted itself; how peaceable the two elections had been, the municipal and that of the delegates to Congress, and said distinctly "the time has come to make a new settlement." Nothing about the discovery that Cuba is so hopelessly bad that nothing can be trusted to it. And President McKinley has not discovered it yet. In his latest message, in which he says the same thing about Cuba as in the resolutions, he doesn't say that it has become impossible to fulfill the pledge; he makes a very elaborate argument—I am sorry to say it savors of Pecksniffianism—that we are keeping this pledge not only in letter but in spirit; he says it is in order to enforce this pledge that we are adopting these little insignificant things—he doesn't directly mention them—it is to enforce this pledge. Here you see that if Congress and the President agreed with Mr. MacVeagh and assumed his facts they would have had to make a statement and prove somehow to Cuba, to Europe and everybody else, to the United States included, that it was impossible to keep the pledge, and that in all fairness and decency we were absolved from keeping it. But he does not say that; he does not make any argument along those lines; he goes on to say that in order to establish this pledge to give Cuba freedom and independence and make it a separate nation we had to enforce these few requirements. And what are these requirements? It would simply be repeating Col. Turner's brilliant argument to prove to you that Cuba, under the amendment, has less freedom than Canada, and Canada is a colony of Great Britain. Cuba, under the spirit of these resolutions, has infinitely less freedom than the Transvaal had, and you know the result in the Transvaal over the construction of the single word suzerainty. Cuba to-day is a crown colony of the United States, as was admitted in Washington at the time the resolutions were adopted. I concur in this part of the argument, that if it were true that Cuba cannot govern herself it would be suicidal to give Cuba freedom and independence in the Teller sense, and that then the United States ought not to be called on to keep this pledge, because, conditions changing, it has become impossible, and it is necessary for the good of Cuba herself, that we depart from the letter of the pledge and maintain and be true to its spirit. If it were true. But I deny the facts. I find nothing in history, I find nothing in the public records, I find nothing in correspondence—except trust-inspired correspondence—to justify these alleged facts. Cuba to-day is eminently in a condition to have a trial at independence. Correspondents there of unquestioned ability and sincerity report this from day to day, and I challenge any one to read the Cuban statement of the maximum Cuba is willing to grant to the United States, with its long preamble and very admirable discussion, and say that the people who have framed it are mere beginners and not be trusted with an attempt at self-government. It is an ancient trick to slander the man you want to cheat. Cuba to-day is in a position to at least have a fair trial, to have a change. The United States is not acting on facts; it is acting on its own suspicions. It is a different question altogether. If you have facts to go upon, if you can appeal to the sense of justice and to the common sense of civilization

and say, "Yes, we made a pledge, but we can't keep it, because, don't you see, it would be bad for us and worse for them if we attempted that." But if merely on suspicion that Cuba might have some trouble you go and repudiate a pledge, that is a totally different question.

Take the provision that gives absolute right of intervention to maintain property rights, liberty, security and all these things. I ask you in all fairness whether, if Cuba, to-day or next year, has troubles such as occurred in Kentucky when Goebel was assassinated and several other murders occurred, the United States will sit by and say, "This does not give us the right of intervention; oh, we have this every year in the United States. This is perfectly compatible with good government." I ask you in all honesty, do you maintain this would be the attitude under these resolutions? Not at all. Even a dog fight on the streets of Havana would be invoked as an excuse for interference. I ask you to read again these resolutions and tell me if they adopted a "grandfather clause" such as North Carolina has adopted, disfranchising a race, whether the United States would say, "Oh, this is perfectly compatible with good government; our own states have done this." Wouldn't Washington immediately say, "This is an attack on individual rights; we must interfere." In other words, an ideal test, such as has not been realized even in the United States, is presented and imposed on Cuba. Is this honesty, is this fairness? Is this an intention to stick to the spirit of our pledge, without departing from its letter?

I have seen several explanations of the repudiation of the Teller pledge; the most recent is based on pure assumption, on shuffling and new reading of history. It was made by very able gentlemen. They said that we are trustees of Cuba, we are there to pacify it. It is not pacified yet. At least, we think it is not pacified. We don't give them a chance to prove they are not pacified; we assume they are not, but when they are we mean to keep the rest of the pledge. But as Col. Turner said, there is no intimation of that. The resolution is final. It does not say "for the present," or "as long as we, the people of the United States, suspect that pacification is incomplete there shall be a certain number of reservations." Not at all. It says all these restrictions shall go into the constitution and be made a part thereof. And for further assurance they shall be embodied in a permanent treaty with the United States. This is the language; consequently Cuba is never to have any more than it has now. Thus, then, on mere suspicion that Cuba *may* have a little trouble here and there, we are denying it every semblance of independence.

Now take the other side of the argument. Assume that the Teller resolution is violated, but that it really was not an obligation. This is the second excuse. That depends upon the definition of obligation. I have heard this quibble before. It is not new. The Teller resolution, we are told, was not a pledge to Cuba, but a pledge to Congress. Congress saw fit to make it, and it is repealable, as our friend Mr. Busbey has said. Congress has liberty to enact one thing to-day and repeal it to-morrow. Granted. No one denies that. If it were simply a matter concerning the United States, its own interests, clearly it has a right to do that. But the Teller resolution was not made to pacify a few people in the United States. The Teller resolution—and Senator Lodge has written a very elaborate book on the Cuban war, which I commend to the gentlemen here to-night—shows that the Cuban resolution was introduced to make the war with Spain respectable, to prove to the

people in the United States who were against the war (and President McKinley himself was against it—he said a war to annex Cuba would be a criminal aggression) that the war was just, that we had no intention of personal profit of any kind; that it was simply a war for humanity, a war for civilization. It was a moral obligation, not a contractual obligation. It required no consideration. It was a moral obligation to civilization, to Cuba as well as to the people of the United States. Do moral obligations have to carry considerations in dollars and cents? Besides, it had a consideration, decidedly so. It is untrue that there was no consideration, and the consideration consisted of this: That had the Cubans suspected, had Cuba dreamed that the United States would drive Spain out simply to walk in and take Spain's place and play Spanish tricks, they would have turned their guns against the United States. We should have had to fight them as well as Spain. Cuba didn't fight Spain very vigorously, to be sure. For what reason, we don't know. But they didn't fight the United States, and after the war you know the long fight with Gomez and all the other leaders about the surrender of arms and ammunition that was finally accomplished. Do you imagine they would have done that if they had suspected the United States would quietly gobble up Cuba and annex it?

They are not in a position to resist now. That was the consideration. Moreover, it was a consideration, decidedly, so far as those people in the United States were concerned who were absolutely against the war, and never would have permitted the United States to enter upon it but for this pledge of independence and freedom which made it disinterested. It was an obligation with a consideration. It is not repealable, because the moral law is not repealable.

But why did the Senate and the House acquiesce in this arrangement? Why was it adopted without a protest? And why did only five republicans sit still, or go over to the minority? Simply because of the Spanish trick played on Porto Rico, and no one will deny that trick; incidentally, I may say that whoever wishes to have real light thrown on the Cuban question, whoever doubts that there was bad faith in it, should only read the situation in Cuba in the light of our broken promises to Porto Rico, and I think his doubts will be dispelled. It is the question of the jingle of the dollars. It is not the real fear that Cuba may not be any better than Kentucky and North Carolina, but it is the certainty that if Cuba is made a subject or vassal state, it will only be a year or two before Cuba is made a part of the United States. The trusts are working for annexation, and every little incident is magnified to that end; and it is the purpose of annexation that has produced this perfidy from beginning to end.

THE CHAIRMAN: The first guest whom I shall call upon is the speaker, who, at the time when the Sunset Club advised Congress and the country that it was time to intervene, and so brought about the Spanish-American war, made the stirring and eloquent speech which brought about that momentous event. I have the pleasure of introducing to you Dr. R. A. White, who will now address us.

REV. R. A. WHITE: Five minutes is too short either to make a speech in or an argument, and I shall attempt neither. But the question suggests a short story which may have some bearing on this. There was a little fellow who wanted a bicycle very much, and his people, who

were very devout, had taught him in the few years of his life that anything that he prayed for in faith, not doubting, he should eventually get; and so he had been praying for a bicycle, and one night in particular he prayed especially strong for a bicycle, in great faith, and his parents didn't want him to have a bicycle—they were afraid he might get hurt some time; but at the same time they did not want to infringe the faith which they had instilled in the child's mind. So they went out and bought a tricycle and put it by the side of the boy's bed. He woke up in the morning and looked over the head of his bed, and got his eye on the tricycle, and he said, "Oh, Lord, don't you know the difference between a bicycle and a tricycle?"

Now the gentleman on the negative need not try to convince us that a tricycle is a bicycle, you know; you can't do it. A bicycle has two wheels, you can count them, and a tricycle has three wheels. Now the language of the resolution is as simple and plain as Anglo-Saxon can make it. There are no evasions, there are no qualifications, and it is absolutely useless to attempt it, and I rejoice to see that one of the gentlemen has the grace to admit that there is no use in attempting to prove that so far as the resolution is concerned, we have not broken it. But we are told that this is a question of high motive; that we are very much interested in the Cuban welfare; we are very anxious about the Cubans, terribly anxious about Cuba; and that reminds me of another little story which has some bearing on this. A Sunday-school teacher saw a boy before a great picture of Daniel in the Lion's den when Daniel was about to be devoured by the lions, and he was weeping bitterly, and the Sunday-school teacher came up and said, "My dear little boy, don't cry about Daniel; the Lord will take care of Daniel." "Well, yes, I know," he said. "I am not crying about Daniel. I am afraid that little pup lion down there in the corner will not get his share of Daniel."

Now that is the situation. It seems to me, gentlemen, in a word, that this is a great popular question. I cannot help but feel, admiring our nation, admiring the stand that it took in Cuba as against Spain, that somehow or other Congress—for what purpose no one yet knows—has not only broken a pledge to Cuba, but has outraged the unselfishness and the generosity of a great people who, three years ago, whatever the politicians meant, whatever the land-grabbers of America may have meant, a great people, who went into this war for the liberation of Cuba with only one purpose, and that an unselfish purpose, to make these people free and independent in the simple, Saxon meaning of those words. And here is the shame of it all as I see it, that a great and high enthusiasm, such as had not animated, perhaps, the American people since the great Revolution, when we flung off the rule of Britain, animated our people from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the lakes to the gulf, a great wave of enthusiasm, rolling over this land from east to west like some great tidal wave, has been turned into a farce by the action of our Congress, and the beauty of the thing we did three years ago has been defamed, I might almost say disgraced, in the eyes of the American people, and in the eyes of the world. And as one citizen I still trust, though hope is weak, that America may see her way to turn from this step which she has thus taken, and redeem her pledge to Cuba, rescue that unselfish enthusiasm of three years ago from the place into which Congress has thrust it, and make our word as good as law the world over.

MR. RUSH C. BUTLER: The question is well stated. My answer is, we have not only not violated in the smallest particular our obligation to Cuba, but that we have done more for that island than the law of nations or the law of any nation, more indeed than the highest code of ethics, politics or morals even suggests. What is our obligation to Cuba? The error the gentlemen in the affirmative seem to make in this regard is that they tie themselves down to a few printed words expressed years ago when the obligation growing out of our relations with that island could not be foreseen by the most far-seeing statesmen of that time. We have obligations to Cuba to-day that we did not dream of five years ago. Our obligations enlarge, increase and change as time goes on. We cannot tie ourselves down to this written proposition. We have an obligation to Cuba that arises out of the conditions as they exist to-day, conditions which we could not foresee before.

Our obligations to Cuba at this time or at all times may be compared in a way to the common law of England and of our own country. The common law is not fixed; it is not the same to-day that it was a thousand years ago, but it is always the common law; it is able to expand to meet the requirements of conditions as they arise, to meet new emergencies, commercial, political and moral; and it is the same with our organization. We started in with one purpose. That purpose is still in our minds and in our hearts. That purpose was to free Cuba, and to keep Cuba free. We have freed her. The obligation hanging over us to-day is to keep her free, and no proposition presented to Congress or presented to this country in any form or of any kind or character of which I have heard contemplates any other condition for that island. The only conditions attached to Cuba's freedom by this country are those which do not affect her right to govern herself. We are a great nation, yet we have within our country thousands and hundreds of thousands of inhabitants who are not citizens, people who do not have the rights of citizenship. They live in our territories. We send them men to govern them, and to interpret their laws who do not live in those territories, and who are not selected by the people of those territories. The people of the territories have nothing to say or to do with deciding who shall govern them or who shall interpret their laws. We do not propose to be so close-fisted as this with Cuba. We propose to allow Cuba to elect her own legislative bodies, to elect her own president, to enact and enforce her own laws. Our demands are simply confined to the relations of Cuba with the outside world; they do affect in some details the matter of Cuba's finance, but Cuba's financial relations will not be carried on within our own borders. They will extend to countries across the seas. We ask to be permitted to maintain peace in Cuba. That is a perfectly proper request to make. I do not agree with the gentleman in the affirmative who says that this country will take as an excuse to interfere in Cuba a dog fight on the streets of Havana; I will not belittle my country nor her officers by making such an accusation.

THE CHAIRMAN: I am going to tell a little story in introducing the next speaker. There is a story told of an Irishman who on one occasion gave a dinner to his friends. There were good things to eat and good things to drink said to be dear to the Irish heart, and in the course of the evening one of the guests showed a disposition to get under the table, and so the host told Pat, his man of all work, to take

Mr. Callahan across the street and put him on a car. So Pat took him across the street and said to him: "Mr. Callahan, you see them two cars going yonder." Mr. Callahan said, "I do." "Well," said Pat, "take the first, for there is only one." There is only one more invited guest, and him I know you will be glad to hear from.

MR. SLASON THOMPSON: What are the facts? The fact is that our pledge to Cuba, it seems to me, is not open to dispute. It does not go back to any ante-war pledge whatever. If you will read the introduction to the Spooner resolutions, you will see that those resolutions purport to be a carrying out of this self-same pledge. I am just speaking of this thing so that it will sweep away all this idea of the ante-war amendment. "That in fulfillment of the declaration contained in the joint resolution of 1898, the President is hereby," etc. Gentlemen, it is not any old pledge we are trying to fulfill this time. An attempt has been made by the President and Congress to reconcile two absolutely irreconcilable propositions. The pledge is there; we have broken it. We have heard that we are a great nation. We are not great enough to break our own word, and I sincerely hope that there is enough sentiment in this country, going to war as we did, as Doctor White told you, to free Cuba, that this country will see that Cuba is free, not held in swaddling clothes. It is said that we went into this blindly. Cuba was fighting, not for the last five years, but for the last fifty years. In 1876 the proposition as to whether Cuba was fit for self-government was considered, and ably considered, in the message of General Grant.

At the time of the discussion in Congress the question came up—and you might have inferred it from something that was let fall in Mr. Busbey's speech—the question of whether there was a government there or not came up and was discussed, and also the recognition of the republic of Cuba, and the word "republic" was stricken out, and we made our pledge, not to any republic, not to any government there, because we knew there was no government there. We made that pledge to the people of Cuba, as the resolution says. In regard to the impossibility of allowing Cuba to go, we did precisely the same thing for Mexico in 1865; we freed Mexico just as peacefully and with a great deal smaller army than we had in 1898. Sheridan would have marched into Mexico and freed it from French troops if necessary. Mexico is free. Mexico can make any debt it pleases, but over Mexico rests that one idea that covers this continent, that on this continent the United States is sovereign, and it matters not what debt Mexico may incur, how any country may attempt to foreclose on that debt, every nation on earth knows that we will not permit one foot of Mexico to fall into foreign hands. The same proposition would protect Cuba if we granted it freedom. Now I do not wish to get excited and talk about this thing from my own point of view, because I have been talking about it in print so much that there are a great many facts I can't get out. I was handed to-night an expression of one of the ablest writers on this continent, and it is worth listening to, as expressing the view that is taken abroad, and while it is abroad it is only across the borders. Goldwin Smith, writing in the *Weekly Sun* of Toronto, says: "No assurance could be more explicit or more solemn than was the assurance of the American President and Congress when they declared war against Spain, that they were actuated by no desire of aggrandizement, that

they would never annex Cuba nor exercise over her any sovereignty except for the purpose of establishing free government. They proclaimed in the strongest terms the rights of Cuba to independence. Of late, however, there had been ominous hints in government press; the profession of disinterestedness had been flouted as hysterical, and it was said that since it was made circumstances had changed. A party of expectant syndicates was evidently at work for annexation. It became pretty clear that 'Duty' was about once more to take the hand of 'Destiny,' leaving good faith and veracity to find partners where they might. The resolution depriving Cuba of freedom in her foreign relations, restricting her power of borrowing, and securing to the Americans naval and coaling stations on her coast, clearly denies her independence and reduces her to a vassal state. The annexationists see that they have practically won the game. The defense set up is that the original declaration was not a treaty or bargain on the part of the Americans, but only the enunciation of a policy, which they are at liberty to revise. If it was not a treaty or bargain it was a covenant with all nations whose attitude toward the war it was intended to influence, and did in fact effect. The demurrer, well justified, of the Cubans is a distinct appeal to the equity of the American people. Will there be a response? In the present state of moral apathy there probably will not." Gentlemen, that is a sweet thing for the American people to have flung in their faces and to have to take. Think of that. It hits the spot pretty well, that sentence, "'Duty' was about once more to take the hand of 'Destiny,' leaving good faith and veracity to find partners where they might."

MR. JAMES A. FULLENWIDER: I have not studied this subject very much, but I am quite a good deal interested in it, and it was amazing to me to see so wide a difference in men of such high capability as have spoken to-night. But it does seem to me that sound, common sense ought to go through the whole subject, and everybody ought to get on that plane. Now a minister in a revival meeting puts on what we call "the rousements" to wake up the feelings of his audience, and we have had two speakers of that kind on the other side. We have had the other side bearing down hard on the plain facts, as if they were going to build a church and a court house and talk about the cost of things.

Now it seems to me clear that after the reading of the record as read by Mr. Busbey there is no man can say the United States has violated any obligation. From the reading of the resolution there was no pledge addressed to Cuba. That was a declaration of war against Spain. That is what it amounted to, and the treaty was made with Spain, and the obligations were assumed in that treaty with Spain. Now they have got to be carried out. You cannot by any means assume or twist that language—nobody can who will read it straight without prejudice—and say it was not a pledge to Cuba in any one sense; but as Mr. MacVeagh stated after they got into the war they found there was no army down there, and that the United States had actually to go in and do the cleaning of the rear yards of those Cubans. General Leonard Wood made such a reputation just cleaning up the streets and the filth out of those towns in Cuba that he earned the lasting admiration of all the people who have known him in this country. Now for Goldwin Smith and people in this country,

when the American people have done dirty work like that for the sake of the Cubans' own health and noses right at home and to protect our own front door yards that front on the Gulf of Mexico, to say that is not acting in good faith seems to me to be speaking without judgment.

Now those men who have been to Cuba and have seen the actual affairs say that those men who are now anxious to seize the reins of government, and the Cubans generally are no more fit to govern than they are to run a livery stable. They are kind of brigands, kind of buccaneers; they want to get their fingers upon the revenue, and they want to hold the people up like the Spaniards did before America intervened. Now that is the reason the Americans must stay there, for a time at least, and they are willing to give the Cubans a chance to govern themselves, and at the same time not get so far away that they will have another San Juan hill to capture to keep the island pacified. Now there is a great deal of money invested in that island from the United States and from England and from Spain, and the United States has gone on record in a treaty with Spain against whom the declaration of war and the Teller resolution was directed to maintain peace there, to protect the citizens in their property rights; and in the eyes of all the world, not only of Cuba, the United States has got to do it. Now suppose they should take the army out of there and all that property was torn down that was owned by the Spaniards, I assume that Spain could hold the United States responsible for every dollar of it under that treaty. We have got to act with common sense in this matter. If you have had trouble with your neighbor, if you have had to take care of him in any way—you can imagine a case where you might have to retain such a hold on that man's property as to protect him, and yet let him protect you until he got where he could protect himself, and that is what we have got to do with Cuba. Mr. White speaks of it as a farce. Why is it a farce? They have cleaned up all those towns all over Cuba and made them fit to live in. They have allowed them to hold elections and to elect all their local officers, which they could not do under Spain.

MR. NORMAN P. WILLARD: I trust, Mr. Chairman, that our nation will never become a trust-ridden, mortgage-repudiating autocracy or despotism, but if the time shall come I presume that very probably we will find eloquent business men and astute lawyers endeavoring to deceive the American people and the world with the idea that we are standing by the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States, as we have it to-day. It appears to me, however, that the American people will never excuse the McKinley administration or any other administration when adopting any such argument as would indicate that they expect that the representatives of the American government are at liberty to use the English language in such a sense as it is permissible for nobody else in the world to use that language. What would we think, for example, if something more than a century ago the French government had adopted in any way such a declaration as the Teller resolution, and if a few years later a treaty had been enforced by France of such a nature as our government made more recently, and if after a few years the French government had taken with regard to the United States the attitude that the McKinley administration is taking in reference to Cuba to-day, would it not be said by Christendom, would it not be said by every loyal American citizen, that the French government had not kept its obligations with the United

States or with these colonies as they then were? Suppose, for example, that there should be a war between Sweden and Norway, that Norway should rebel, that Russia should intervene, and on the eve of declaring war should adopt such a pronunciamiento as the Teller resolution, would it not be said that that was an obligation to the people of Norway, and if later on it should extort from the government of Sweden such a treaty as later on we induced Spain to make with us; and if there was any inconsistency between the original pronunciamiento and that treaty so extorted, could Russia claim that her obligations to Norway were defined not by the original pronunciamiento, but by the treaty? Now it seems to me that any one who can take advantage of the situation of affairs as they have been in Cuba during the last two or three years, could readily say, if we repeat what those who wrote and spoke somewhat more than a century ago when after the convention of 1787 the question of the adoption of our present Constitution was at stake, about the disorder and the probable future of the American Colonies, unless such a constitution were adopted, it appears to me that if we put ourselves back a little more than a century there can be no doubt that if the McKinley arguments have an iota of excuse it was the duty of France to prevent the United States government being established as it is today.

FRANK J. LOESCH: There is one thing that has run through the argument of Mr. Busbey that struck me with considerable force, and it was his denial that we had violated our obligations directly to Cuba, and his distinction between the people and the Government of Cuba, on the theory that there was no government, nevertheless there seemed to be an implied recognition that we have made an obligation, that we have given a pledge to somebody. Now without attempting to say to whom that pledge was made let us admit that the whole world understood at that time that the pledge was made to the world that we were going in there as a disinterested nation to see that Cuba got its rights, its freedom, for which it was striving, and that after that was granted we would take off our hands. Now that was understood in France and in Germany and in England. All the continental papers looked upon it in that light, and you will most of you—the editors here and general readers—recall the sarcastic comments that were made by foreign papers on the subject. They said, "That's all right to make that pledge, but you won't keep it. After you have accomplished the purpose of the war you will become, as you always have been, Anglo-Saxon land grabbers." Now, Mr. Chairman, the fact is after we have made this pledge we have to make the humiliating confession that the sarcastic innuendoes and remarks of the foreign newspapers were correct; that we did not live up to this pledge. Now the excuse for this made by Mr. Busbey and those who argue along that line, as the gentleman to my left said, is that in the treaty with Spain we took upon ourselves certain obligations. To carry out those obligations we must keep control of Cuba. Now do I understand that right, sir?

MR. BUSBEY: No, I didn't say control of Cuba.

MR. LOESCH: Well, a form of suzerainty, or whatever it is that we have there now, whatever you call it. It is our hand upon the island. Now in the first place we had no business to make a treaty with Spain that placed obligations upon ourselves that were inconsistent with our prior obligations. There is the vice of that reasoning.

The very fact that we took obligations in a treaty which were inconsistent with our obligations of our pledge to the world was a violation of our obligations, a denial of the freedom we had promised to Cuba. Now what is the thing we ought to do? What ought a man to do who has made two inconsistent obligations? Why I think there is but one course for nations and men, to act in the utmost good faith, withdraw from Cuba and leave her absolutely free to do as she pleases. If subsequently our rights are impaired or other nations seek, in violation of the Monroe doctrine, to attempt to get a foothold upon that island, it will then be time enough for us to interfere; but let us live up to our pledge and show to the world that we meant what we said and what we pledged, that we were great enough to let the dollars go and live up to it.

MR. SIGMUND ZEISLER: The last speaker, it seems to me, has allowed himself to be led into error by Mr. Busbey. I deny that our treaty with Spain contravenes in any particular the resolution known as the Teller resolution. The Treaty of Paris imposes upon the United States the duty of maintaining the peace, and protecting life, liberty and individual rights during the occupation of Cuba by the United States, and not one minute further than that, and it requires us only to impose upon Cuba the obligation to do afterwards what we now do, and Cuba is doing that the moment she adopts a constitution which is so framed as to secure property rights, life and liberty, etc. A great deal has been said here about obligation, in the sense of a legal obligation. We are not discussing the question of obligations from a legal standpoint, because there is no court of law into which the question as to whether our obligation is binding or not can be carried, and the promise made by one nation to another nation cannot be enforced by any court of law. It can only be enforced in that higher court, the court of good faith between nations.

Now I care very little about the Cubans in this question, but I care a great deal about America. I care very little whether there is an obligation to the Cubans that has been violated, but I care a great deal whether the United States has violated an obligation which it owes to its traditions, to its glorious history, to its noble record as the leader of the world in the science and practice of free government. Mr. Chairman, I care a great deal about whether the name of America is synonymous with truth and justice and generosity. This Cuban rider to the army bill appears to me to be the climax in a most deplorable evolution by which a war, professedly begun for humanity and freedom, has degenerated into a scandal for aggression and aggrandizement. You may call my notions old-fogyish. You may think I am a crank or an idealist, because I believe that the principle of *noblesse oblige* applies to the United States. But I am reminded of the words of the poet:

"In vain you call old notions fudge,
And match your morals to your feeling,
The ten commandments will not budge,
And stealing will continue stealing."

MR. DANIEL M. LORD: I suppose the gentlemen on the negative side of this question imagine they are producing new arguments, but if you will read back one hundred and twenty-odd years ago, you

will find that Talleyrand went all through this. After the close of the Revolutionary war he wrote page after page and he said, "The Americans are no more fit for self-government than savages. Withdraw your army from America, and they will be cutting each other's throats inside of thirty days." Nothing very new in all this. They came over here and helped us to whip the English and then they said, "If we withdraw we will leave them in anarchy, and in revolution, and they will be cutting each other's throats. Nothing very new in all this argument; but I blush when I have to confess it that France governed by Louis XVI even was more honest at that time than our United States has been up to the present day in dealing with Cuba. It is true and no one can deny it. There are a good many lawyers around here. I remember a story of an old Vermont lawyer. He was telling his son how to practice law. He said, "When justice is on your side, talk justice. When law is on your side, talk law. And when neither is on your side, give them Hell on technicalities." And that is exactly what the negative side of this question has to do today. They haven't got right and they know it; they haven't got justice and they know it; and they are technically trying to beat that resolution with which this country went to war, and, I am free to confess it, I said at the time it was not an honest declaration.

MR. HENRY RIGGS RATHBONE: I did not come here to speak tonight, and in the limited time I shall be able to say but a word, and that is to characterize in one word as far as I can the spirit which has animated the gentlemen who have spoken against the United States. I believe that the essential vice in their arguments is this, that they do not have the faith in the people of this country that they should possess. I should like to ask them what is there in the history of this country, what is there in the history of the man who stands at the head of this government which should breed this distrust? This war was not conceived in a spirit of aggression, and we are not today trying to play the Anglo-Saxon land-grabber. We are not trying to steal anything, we are trying to stand by what is right; we are trying to do the best for this country and for Cuba as well; we are not trying to play a selfish part. What do you think of the assertions made here tonight? What do you think of that gallant soldier who said that we had reserved in the treaty rights for certain ports there in Cuba. For what purpose, gentlemen? He told you and asked you to believe that it was for the purpose of enslaving Cuba, that it was for the purpose of going in there and, in his own language, bombarding them into submission. Why, Colonel, who is to do this? Your own brothers in arms, Colonel. Do you expect them to do it? Do you think American soldiers and sailors would do it? They have never trampled on liberty yet, and they are not going to do it now.

No, Colonel, they have not done it. You ought to know what class of men they are. You ought to know that no American soldier would trample on the liberties of any people. And you have been told by another speaker that our President, like a Pecksniff, and our people are trying to cheat the Cuban people of their land. You know we are not trying to do anything of the kind. When we went into that war many people, like that gentleman, were not in favor of that war. The most glorious, the most unselfish war that has been waged. He was not in favor of it. He could see nothing in that war. Per-

haps he has the same spirit of pessimism tonight that he had then. No, my friends, no gentlemen, that is not true of the United States. The same spirit that animated us three years ago is animating us today. We have not changed; our country has not changed. We drove away despair from that island. We righted them. We found the people there in the last stages of misery and disaster. We have been lifting them tenderly from the ground. We are supporting them; we are assisting them; we are not trying to press upon them or to rob them. You know that we are not trying to do anything of the kind. All the stipulations in the treaty are for their protection. They simply say that no great foreign power shall come in there, shall set foot upon that island, only forty miles away from our own coast, and be a menace to our own people and their liberties. That is the reason. Not only for the million Cubans, but for the seventy-five millions of Americans we ought to do it, and we are doing it. It provides also that we shall not allow the diseases and epidemics if we can prevent it, only those few miles away from our coast, to cross that narrow strip of ocean and to ravage our country. Where is there any wrong to the Cubans or to any other people in that? Those are protective measures alone, gentlemen. But study the whole matter, and you will not find—I challenge you to find a single thing in these treaties which allows us to prey upon or to rob the people of Cuba.

Adjourned.

JOSEPH W. HINER, Secretary.

ONE HUNDRED AND TENTH MEETING

APRIL 18, 1901

FIFTY-NINE PRESENT

SUBJECT:

The Party Boss

CHAIRMAN: MR. JOSEPH W. ERRANT

ADDRESSES BY

PROF. WILLIAM HILL
MR. MARTIN B. MADDEN

MR. JULIUS STERN
JUDGE ORRIN N. CARTER

GENERAL DISCUSSION BY

PROF. JOHN HENRY GRAY
MR. LAWRENCE E. MCGANN
MR. WILLIAM HALE THOMPSON

MR. NEWTON A. PARTRIDGE
MR. CHARLES MCGAVIN
MR. JOSEPH B. DAVID

MR. WILLIAM F. CARROLL



ONE HUNDRED AND TENTH MEETING.

*Held at the Palmer House, Thursday, April 18, 1901.
Fifty-nine present.*

The Party Boss

THE SECRETARY: We are fortunate this evening in having as Chairman an ex-Secretary of the Club. After saying this it is, of course, superfluous to add that your Chairman is a man of eminent abilities and general accomplishments. After serving a term as Secretary of the Sunset Club with great credit to himself and entire satisfaction to the Club he became a member of the School Board, and while in that capacity he learned something about party bosses in their relation to the public schools. Lately he has been distinguishing himself by acting as manager of the canvass of the anti-Burke-Harrison Democracy in the municipal campaign. The anti-Burke-Harrison Democracy is a good party to practice on, and it is probable that our friend here will loom up some time as boss of one of the larger political parties. I am now very glad to abdicate in favor of the Chairman of this meeting, Mr. Joseph W. Errant.

THE CHAIRMAN: It is really a very great privilege to be permitted to be here again at one of these meetings. I feel tempted at this moment to indulge in all sorts of reminiscences as to the Sunset Club. I wish to direct your attention to the interest and importance of the subject which has been presented to you for discussion to-night, the Party Boss. As I look over the list of speakers, knowing something of the gentlemen who sit at this table and who are expected to contribute something to the discussion of this evening, I have no doubt that you will find presented to you most interesting

features relating to this question. I have no doubt that you will listen to very interesting dissertations as to the tyranny of the political boss when once installed in power. On the other hand, I am quite sure that most interesting and pathetic pictures will be presented to you of the vacillation of the people in dethroning a boss after they have put him in power. In a campaign which occurred some time ago in one of the cities of the United States, we beheld the spectacle of the people on each side trying to dethrone their boss by voting for the candidate on the other side.

The gentlemen who are to speak to you are not mere theorists, they are practical men. Here, for instance, is Professor William Hill, of the Chicago University. Professor Hill is not a mere theorist. He on one significant occasion went into the Nineteenth Ward. I suppose all of you know where the Nineteenth Ward is. And he tried to convince the people there that they ought to have a change of aldermen. The Professor and the people who were laboring with him were not as successful as they hoped to be in convincing the people that there ought to be a change. But I have not the slightest doubt that in connection with these efforts of the Professor he learned some most interesting lessons, which he will be glad to contribute to the discussion here to-night.

PROFESSOR WILLIAM HILL: It is common to attribute theory and nothing more to University men, and as I have never had the pleasure of an acquaintance with anyone who could be termed a party boss, I suppose I shall have to make any remarks that I can give you purely theoretical.

If we go back a little in our political history or if we compare the conditions which exist in highly developed centers, in cities where great numbers of people are gathered together with those which exist in reasonably enlightened rural communities where the struggle for existence is less severe, we will possibly find some reasons for the difference in the working out of democratic institutions or of the democratic forms of government under these changing conditions. We shall certainly have to make a different division of our activities; we shall have to find a different type of citizen, if we are to have what we would term a successful exemplification of the principles of democratic self-government in the highly complex commercial conditions which confront us in the large cities to-day.

Now we see all about us the centralization of industry, the organization of independent producers into groups, and the groups into greater groups, and instead of the self-direction of a greater number of men we see constantly going forward the management of men in all phases of our industrial activities by fewer and fewer men. The individual who is directing his own energies is scarcer to-day than

he was yesterday. On the other hand, we see a few men who have ability of one kind or another who are determining the kind of action and the amount of action and the way in which your activities and mine shall be spent. The number of them is growing smaller.

Now, whatever be the forces at work which have brought about this situation in the financial, industrial and commercial world to-day, there are, it seems to me, the same kind of forces at work in the political world. The same forces that have made it impossible for each individual to do the thing that suits him to-day and another thing to-morrow and be an independent factor in the production of commodities are at work on our more complex political organizations in the great centers of the country. And in many instances the industrial power and the financial power that has been gained in this competitive struggle has been carried over into the political field, and one of the more important explanations of the power of the political boss, as an outsider sees it, is the alliance between the commercial or financial ruler and the political ruler, the desire of the man, powerful industrially, to utilize the political and legislative forces for his own advantage. He finds the same methods which have enabled him to control other men in the industrial world are also potent in the political world, and the political bosses in our cities are merely the servants of the more powerful bosses who are in control of the industries and finances of the country. It is not Lorimer who is the boss so much as John R. Walsh, who gives Lorimer his orders. It is the capitalistic boss who is the real boss, who uses political leaders.

Now the practical question in a city like Chicago to-day is not whether we shall have bosses, because there are very few of us who are going to give the time and energy which is required to govern ourselves, and unless we are willing to do this, we are not entitled to self-government. Given a certain ability and energy to start with, the man who works at a task most persistently is the one who succeeds, the one who gets control. That is the situation in politics. Any man who looks at the situation in the political or industrial field to-day must recognize that the dominant power is the power of organization, the power of bringing all the forces which tend in a given direction to bear in your favor. That being true, if I am correct in the assumption that the majority of citizens of any great city are not going to give the time, energy and attention to the questions of government that those who have direct personal ends to gain are giving to that problem, then the option left us is a choice of bosses.

One definition of a party boss which will be accepted as readily perhaps as any other is the man who through the power or the influence that he can get in various ways uses the political machinery of

government to further his own ends, regardless perhaps of the interests of the community, save in so far as he has to regard those duties for the purpose of keeping himself in power. The political leader, as distinct from the boss, is the man who uses the same method and the same organization to serve the people, who finds out what the people want and helps them to get it; while the political boss finds out what he wants and uses the political machinery to make the people give it to him. The political leader finds out what the people want and uses the political machinery to get it for them. That is the distinction I would make between the political boss and the political leader. And the only choice open to us in great cities to-day is a substitution of the political leader for the political boss. I believe that substitution is possible. We have a number of illustrations in this city where we have no real choice between the candidates, where they both represent political bosses, where members of each party vote largely for the candidate of the other party, or refrain from voting because they don't want to support their boss. We have other illustrations where men who have really used the positions to which they are elected to further the interests of the people have run ahead of their ticket. The people recognize their faithful service. And we have certain machinery which is enabling us more and more clearly and distinctly to follow the acts of our officials and at election time to reward the faithful, and I believe it is possible with a reasonable amount of effort to substitute the political leader for the political boss. That is about as far as my optimism leads me to-night.

THE CHAIRMAN: Mr. Madden, the next speaker, was for many years a member of our City Council, and many of the city's legislative acts bear the stamp of his active work. He is one of our leading business men; he has for many years been associated with almost every enterprise that has been built up in the city and has helped to increase its civic greatness. At the present time he is actively associated with the Manufacturers' Association of this city. I take great pleasure in introducing to you Hon. Martin B. Madden.

MR. MARTIN B. MADDEN: We live in a country and under a government which first recognized manhood in man.

Never, before the organization of this government was manhood recognized as the essential element of citizenship. American manhood is the only requisite to American citizenship. The American government is one in which the people reign. It is what Abraham Lincoln called a government of the people, by the people, for the people. It is a government based on the will of the people, from whom all political power is derived. The officials of the government

are then but the agents of the people. The government must, under such conditions as prevail here, be responsive to the people's will. It should be representative of the people's thought, of the people's desire, of the people's action. It is within the power of the people to limit it to its only legitimate purpose, the welfare of the people.

The foundation of the American Republic is manhood suffrage, and the dignity of manhood is recognized in all men. Every man here is looked upon as a qualified factor in the makeup of the government. Each one is regarded as worthy of confidence. All are trusted and considered capable of caring for their own public interests.

While we all recognize the impossibility of the direct administration of our affairs by the whole people, we also recognize the fact that our officials are selected for periods so brief, that the people always remain the governing authority. At the end of the brief period for which our officials are elected, the authority given them at the beginning of their term of office must be again laid at the feet of the people, who are looked upon as sure to arrive at right conclusions and again vest this power in the hands of those who will use it for the welfare of the people.

Class privileges are unknown among our people. American liberties have removed them. Every citizen under our form of government is made the architect of his own fortune. Talent, honesty and industry here are capable of reaping the highest honors and highest prizes, and individual worth constitutes the sole condition of success.

In every department of our national life manhood is a conspicuous factor. Intelligence and morality are the great forces from which our nation must draw its life. To preserve and strengthen these forces we must be patriotic. The very soul of good citizenship is morality and intelligence. Without a sufficient understanding of the scope and importance of the suffrage and of the interests of the commonwealth, the voter is but a blind machine moved and directed by external forces. The casting of the ballot is the supreme act of citizenship. Ballot in hand, with his fellow citizens, he decides the destiny of the Republic. The ballot is the pride of the true American. The proper use of it is a sacred duty. The American who boasts of his political indolence proclaims his own shame. The indifference towards the political life of the country manifested by intelligent well-meaning citizens is a menace to our institutions. I venture the assertion that with some who profess to be the staunchest Americans patriotism is made subservient to business claims, or to a false sentiment of self-respect. We have, unfortunately, many among us who are not free from the undemocratic and consequently un-American idea, that we lose our personal dignity if we mingle on

equal terms, as we must when we enter the political arena, with men of all social classes. Nothing could be farther from the truth, for when we mingle with men as American citizens, we associate with noble-men.

It is not the man who sits by the fireside reading the evening papers and finding fault with politics and politicians who will ever do anything to save us. It is the man who, in season and out of season, attends the political caucus, the primary and the mass meeting, upon whom we must depend, and the higher the standard of intelligence, morality and integrity contained in the men who do this the higher will be the standard of our government. Let every citizen then become a politician, in the true and noble meaning of the word. Let each try to elevate to a higher plane the standard of American citizenship.

In a country such as ours, where upon all alike rests the responsibility of government, where each one may be called upon to perform the legislative, the executive or the judicial function, the tendency is to divide into parties. That parties under such conditions serve good purposes there can be no question; the one excites the emulation of the other; the one acts as a balance wheel against the wrong-doing of the other. Parties must have organization to properly conduct their work. Men of superior ability as organizers will naturally come to the front. They soon become the recognized leaders on this account, and as long as they continue to lead along lines best calculated to give expression to the untrammelled will of the people they are trusted with the people's confidence. No man can lead unless others are willing to follow. The usefulness of a leader is limited to his ability to represent the best thought of those who go to make up the principles advocated by the party of which he is a member. His power consists of being able to retain the confidence of those who choose to speak through him. If the number be large and influential, he becomes a potent factor. If the number be small his power is limited. Some men are leaders by nature. This is true in every walk of life. It is not confined to politics. Sometimes the people become careless and call off the watches. The once trusted leader then assumes that he is in supreme control. He no longer consults the people. He acts as if he had the right to dictate. He does dictate. He then becomes a boss, and for a time continues to assume this role. The people soon see the result of their own carelessness; they begin to see the need of greater interest on their part; they take matters into their own hands; they insist on the selection of the best men for the office; they relegate the boss to the ranks; he becomes one of the rank and file of the great American monarchs, and some other man of genius is chosen as a leader who is sure for a time at least to act as the delegate of the sovereign people.

If the voters must have leaders, let them seek them out and give them honor. Incapable men should never be chosen. Still less immoral men. The trust should be considered a sacred one, and should be administered with an eye single to the good of the community. Not what will please the mob, not what will advance his personal interest, but what duty prompts and what the public interest demands, should be and is the motto of the true leader.

Every one knows the evil of the political boss, but few have courage or energy enough to apply the cure. The desires, regrets and sorrows expressed produce no visible results unless united intelligent and systematic effort is made for his overthrow.

Sometimes we misinterpret the word leader and confound it with the word boss. Jealousies arise within the party ranks. Factions grow out of these jealousies.

In the heat of the struggle for control, the partisans of the vanquished leader or leaders are carried beyond the limits of their honest opinions and disguise their real sentiments in expressions of their disapproval of the victor's action, and while under other conditions they might be willing to sound the victor's praises as the wise statesman and successful leader, they can see in him, or them, under the conditions I have described only the despotic boss.

Let me venture the hope that the day will sometime come when the patriotism of our people will be so intense that every citizen will take an active interest in the political life of the country.

If this is done the political boss will be a thing unknown in American politics.

THE CHAIRMAN: The next speaker is one of that type of educated and aggressively honest men who do not shirk the responsibilities which Mr. Madden has told us fall upon every American citizen. We have been interested lately in reading of the good work which the Citizens' Association is doing in preventing the officials of the various towns from filling their pockets with the people's money. The gentleman who is doing the active legal work in connection with these movements of the Citizens' Association is our next speaker, and I take great pleasure in introducing to you Mr. Julius Stern.

MR. JULIUS STERN: I am not what is known as a practical politician, as I have never been a party worker to any extent greater than that which every citizen should be in attending to his civic duties, but I have necessarily been brought into contact more or less with the questions that confront us both as citizens and as members of party organizations, because party organizations must exist in a republican form of government. Not only that, but you must all agree with the statement made by the gentleman who preceded me

as to what is an American citizen's right and his duty as a citizen. The beautiful form of government which he has pictured to us is the theoretical form of our government. Yet we must all be blind if we cannot see that theory has not been carried out fully in practice; that the ballot which is the insignia of the American citizen's sovereignty is frequently wielded at the behest of another, without thought or discrimination on the part of him who wields it. This condition is the fruitful soil of the conversion of the political leader into the party boss. I do not mean to throw any aspersions upon the party boss *per se*. He is the product of surrounding conditions. We must all admit that these conditions are bad, and it behooves us in considering this question to see whether they cannot be bettered. Almost to the earliest days of this government party bossism has prevailed, and like the aggregation of manufacturing concerns into great trusts, so party bossism has grown as the soil upon which it flourished has been made more nutritious for the growth of the noxious weed.

The party leader is necessary. The party boss is a noxious perversion of the political leader. We find the same condition of affairs repeated decade after decade. There is the growth of a noxious party bossism. It is suffered to grow for years until conditions become insupportable, and then there is a volcanic uprising of the people; they purify politics, overthrow the party boss, and then sink back into lethargy, and in the course of a few years the whole system is as it was before. We need only look to the experiences in New York for an illustration. The history of one city is the history of all. Fernando Wood was one of the earliest bosses there. Then came the reign of Tweed. Things became so bad that there was an uprising, and he was wiped out. There was an outburst of virtue followed by a few years of activity on the part of the so-called good citizens, then more lethargy, and the rise of Kelly, the rise of Croker. "Men may come and men may go," says Tennyson in his "Brook," but the boss goes on forever. Tennyson didn't say that.

Now, what is the cause of it? The government formed by the founders of this Republic was adapted for the use of men trained in self-government. The earlier settlers of this country, whether of English or of Dutch, or the few of German extraction, were men with an Anglo-Saxon experience in self-government. They were the flower of the thinking and self-governing people of the countries whence they came, because it was their opposition to tyranny or to the want of self-government, which drove them to this country, and for them this form of government was adapted. As the country grew and as large cities sprang up all over the country, they were filled with emigrants, first of the better classes from abroad—and by better I do not mean wealthier, but I mean those with a more enlight-

ened conscience and training—who were easily assimilated. After a while the numbers not only increased but the quality deteriorated, and we obtained in the years immediately following the civil war emigrants from countries who knew not self-government. I do not say it in disparagement of them. I believe with the gentleman who preceded me that this is the country in which manhood counts, that every man should have his vote. We obtained men from Roumania, from Russia, from Italy, from Dalmatia, from Hungary, men who had been born under the iron heel of despotism and for whom heredity taught nothing but despotism, the unquestioned submission to the rule of the few. How could they intelligently wield the vote? How could they govern themselves and others? Yet they all were empowered to do so by casting their vote after a few years of residence, legally after but five, practically very often after a much shorter time. That was the beginning of bossism. It gave the opportunity for the man of bright intellect and very often of a kindly heart and disposition to get the reins of leadership within his hands, and the reins of an irresponsible leadership. And there's the rub. In order to keep a representative government pure, it must be representative; where the masters are responsible to the people. Of course the individual is bound hand and foot by the system of bossism. He is not an independent despot. He is surrounded by a ring. He is but the head of a ring, and he is fettered by his surroundings just as the Czar of Russia is not supreme save as long as he conforms to the inner councils which govern Russia.

Now this thing should be cured. There should and must be government by leaders. Men of ability must rise to leadership in politics just as naturally as the strongest plant in the best soil will rise higher than the plants around it. It is a system of natural selection which produces leaders from the environment in which they are placed, and if we wish to elevate the political leader it is our duty to see that the environment is elevated. I think that is the whole thing in a nut shell. These periodical uprisings will do no permanent good. And the only way to do that is to educate, to educate the head to contrive, the heart or conscience to deal justly, to observe the golden rule, and the hand to execute that which the head and heart have provided for it to do, and it is not fair to the present generation to leave that all to the future, and say, "Educate the children and the next generation will be better," because in a country like this, where emigration is still ever present, it must be done now. To do it I would briefly advocate this—it may sound like a wild, theoretical experiment, but I believe it is efficacious and it can be done: Give to the masses of foreigners, who know nothing of the practical workings of our government, and give to the leisure classes who think they know a great deal of it, but

who very often know only the merest surface, a practical school in which to learn practical politics. We have in every city schoolhouses established by the public, owned by the public, closed from five o'clock in the evening until eight o'clock in the morning; let them be thrown open every night as the people's clubs. There are many among us now I have no doubt who, if the call went forth, are able and willing to devote their time in the schoolhouses at night as the few devoted knights do in the social settlement houses in meeting with their fellow citizens of high and low degree. Make them debating clubs, where questions of practical, actual politics may be discussed, so they may know their duty to the state and cast an intelligent and not an ignorant vote; where they may discuss questions of state, not only for two weeks during the rush and excitement before an election, but all the time. Let them have the schoolhouses as their debating clubs, instead of—as the poor are necessarily forced to do—making the neighboring saloon, which gives them light and warmth and a ready and ever present audience, their debating club, or even the Ward Club, which is given to them by their party. Let the schoolhouses be devoted to that, and if the cry is, there are no funds for that, let the propaganda be made that the wealth of men who now in shoals are giving their millions to libraries, to higher institutions of learning, can be put to nobler use in the cause of progress by making public foundations in the trusteeship of the city and such private trustees as they wish to add thereto, as was done in the case of the Girard Trust in Philadelphia, left by Stephen Girard some seventy years ago, which has never been mismanaged even in the ring-ridden city of Philadelphia, and let there be a trust fund for the dissemination of information on civic questions, and I am sure funds will rise in every city of the land for the propagation of that crusade.

THE CHAIRMAN: There is a Judge over in the County Building whose special province it is to watch over the administration of the laws relating to primaries and elections. He meets all the questions relating to practical politics, and I know that we shall receive an interesting contribution to the discussion of this evening from Judge Orrin N. Carter.

JUDGE ORRIN N. CARTER: I have been wondering somewhat where the Secretary placed me when he asked me to talk here. Something less than a year ago some of my friends thought that I was very strongly opposed to party bosses, and within the last few months possibly some of our good citizens have thought that I was not quite so strongly opposed. I am glad to notice that the discussion to-night has been carried along conservative lines. If there be any

criticism upon it at all it may be in the pessimism of some of our speakers. I am afraid my friend Professor Hill has been reading Dickens when he said that he had infinite faith in the ability of the people to be governed, but that his faith in the ability of the people to govern themselves was almost infinitesimal.

This is a great problem which faces us, and I want to say to you, my friends, that people who are worthy of self-government won't in a childish, weak manner turn their backs on the problems that are facing them, but in a manly, vigorous, courageous manner, will grapple with them and settle them. One of our great leaders in municipal reform has truly said that we have just as good government as we deserve. The great question that faces us to-day in all reforms is to make government responsible to the people. Writers for all centuries who have talked on the question of government have until recently at least assumed that a republic to be successful must necessarily be small. Plato and Aristotle said that over two thousand years ago. And the great French writer, Montesquieu, said two centuries ago that it is natural for a republic to be small, otherwise it could not long exist. They did not realize a great republic like this. We never have bossism as we use the term in any other government except a republic or a democracy. And why is it? Napoleon said in the midst of the French Revolution when out of the turmoil he had brought certain order and made himself First Consul, that when he attempted to give them peace they had no place where responsible government could be located, and he said, "I took it from nowhere and placed it there in the Consulship." And there are writers who have studied this subject who tell us that bossism and machine rule has come because we do not have any place in a republic, especially in great cities, where we can place responsibility. Public opinion in a great city like this has very little influence upon the wonderful machinery that we find in civic affairs. At times everyone becomes aroused on some one thing, as they did a few years since upon the so-called Allen bill, and then we accomplish something. But in general it is difficult to center public thought upon any one question in such a way as to influence the people to carry out those ideas. A very prominent newspaper man who is not now a resident of this city told me that the people could never be aroused at one time upon more than one question. They could not grasp a great many questions at one time and settle them aright.

We mean by bossism of course arbitrary power. Now I believe that any kind of law, no matter how poorly administered, is better than the arbitrary will of any individual, no matter what his intentions may be; that the results will be better in the long run. We have had bosses ever since the dawn of civilization. Pericles was one.

He was the power behind the throne in Grecian history, and in the Middle Ages, even in the most democratic government that possibly the world has ever known, where the form of government was changed every few months; one of the de Medicis was the power behind the throne, until he finally took freedom from the people. One of the greatest bosses in modern times was Thurlow Weed, an editor. We have too frequently, it seems to me, cried out against bossism because the people of a certain section of the city did not do as we wished them to do. We must not expect the people in many sections of our city to agree with us and our ideas of public life, because their education is entirely different, and the man who is going to influence the people in the old First Ward, for instance—and perhaps the new one—and the Seventeenth and the Nineteenth Wards, must, if he is going to have any permanent influence, live there a long while in order to accomplish anything. Our present Vice-President said two years ago that sympathy was perhaps the most powerful factor in molding and influencing political life in this country. That is true, and the person who is going into the Nineteenth or the Eighteenth or the First Ward, as we have known them in the past, and expects to ameliorate conditions by taking part in public life, must go and live with those people, and not for the purpose of getting public positions, but for the purpose of leading them along right lines. We cannot do it without that. This is well illustrated in that book which you all ought to read, *The Honorable Peter Sterling*. There are other ways by which we can do it. Civil service is one of those ways. I believe that that reform is the very breath of life of all municipal reforms. It takes away from the boss one of his great sources of power, but that alone will not give us all the reform that we want along those lines. I believe it was Josh Billings who said not many years ago that the way to milk a kicking cow was to stand off twenty feet and say, "So, so, gol darn you." That may do in agricultural life, but it won't do in politics in a great city like this. You have got to get closer to it if you are going to accomplish anything. You have got to make it a part of your life.

I could talk without ceasing upon this subject. I fear if I did I would be an illustration of what Bill Nye said when he was here a few years ago with James Whitcomb Riley. He spoke first and began by saying, "The program this evening is for me to talk till I get tired, and then for Brother Riley to read his poems until you get tired."

To my mind these reforms can be helped greatly and be more quickly carried to a solution by reforms in our primary laws. Through indifference or indolence the people in great cities have gradually given up a large part of their public duties to the party leaders, until these leaders have become party bosses. The people cannot regain

their power at once. Now if we are to have party organization, in order to keep the party leaders responsive to the will of the people, we must give to every member of the party the same privilege of assisting in the selection of the candidates of the party that the leaders have. We must have leaders. Now we have not that condition in this city. We have come much nearer it in the primary laws during the last three years than we ever have before because we never had good laws before. We must make all primaries subject to the law and so that every individual who desires to do so can take part in them freely and fairly and secretly. It does not make so much difference whether we obtain that by the direct voting plan or through the convention system, if we start at the initial point at the primaries and give the same privilege to every member of the party and protect him in that right. I am not strongly in favor of a direct voting system. It might succeed in city elections, but I think it would be a failure in state and national elections, for I believe that in some point in our government you must put your trust in the people, and for one I am not prepared to say we cannot trust delegates. I brand as false the charge that the entire body of the American people can be bought and sold. It is not true and never will be true so long as the fires of American patriotism burn as bright in the hearts of the American people as they do to-day. The great feature of reform to-day and for the last ten or fifteen years is the attempt to reform by law. Lowell said a great many years ago:

"The older a gov'ment is the better 't suits;
New ones hunt folks' corns, like new boots:
Change jes' for change is like them big hotels
Where they shift plates an' let ye live on smells."

That is the fault if you expect to reform by changing the law. It cannot be done. The best of laws must have an honest citizenship back of them. Someone said years ago that he would prefer to have Satan make the laws and Gabriel enforce them, rather than to have Gabriel make the laws and Satan enforce them, and there is much truth in that, because what Grote said about the ancient republic of Greece is true to-day. He said that when they fell into disorders the people attempted to do away with those disorders by changing the form of the law, forgetting that the same set of people would have to enforce the laws, whatever they were.

Now, my friends, I want to say this to you in conclusion, we can change our laws so that we can be a self-governing people if we will, but we can't do it without organized effort. What are you doing to get a better primary law now? The Legislature is in session. You are not satisfied with it. How long ago did you start to do something? There is a law down there now that will give much greater

privileges to the people of this city if they will pass it than the people get under the present law. Are you in favor of it? What will you do to advance it, and what have you done to advance it? Haven't some of the good people of this city waited until the last few weeks and then introduced a new law for direct voting, expecting, because they have introduced it, to get good results from it? If you expect laws to be written on our statute books, you must organize an effort to see that those laws are there. You must do something more than that. You must always be wide-awake to the responsibilities of citizenship. In conclusion I want to read to you what was said about the democracy of Greece, and it will apply to-day. Demosthenes said, "If you get rid, all of you, of the spirit of evasion; if each man will show himself ready to act whenever duty calls him and he can possibly render service to the state, and if you are willing to depend upon none but yourselves and will not give up, each of you hoping that he can remain idle while his neighbor does everything for him, then I say you will come to your own. If God will, you will recover once again the position which your past indolence has thrown away." That is as true to-day as it was two thousand years ago. Are we to bring about these reforms by taking up these burdens ourselves and voting at every election, taking part in every organized movement for reform along these lines till we accomplish something? If we will, then we can reform by evolution. If we will not, then we may have revolution. Is it evolution or revolution? My friends, I believe it is evolution.

THE CHAIRMAN: Under the head of general discussion, we shall now have a few five-minute talks. With your permission I shall take the liberty of calling on some of the speakers. Professor John Henry Gray of the Northwestern University.

PROFESSOR JOHN HENRY GRAY: I did not know why I was invited until I heard the previous speeches. Having listened to the academic demonstration on the part of Mr. Madden of the proposition that all that is is right, I have concluded that you wanted one practical politician. Now I must confess that when I was a minor I used to buy votes at two dollars a head. In the presence of the Judge, I emphasize the fact, "when I was a minor," and plead the baby act. Mr. Madden has told us how the sovereign American citizen comes up to the polls and exercises his sovereign right and designates his choice. I must confess that when I approach the polls very frequently I am a good deal in the attitude of old Thaddeus Stevens. You have all heard the story of when he was leading the House of Representatives and was working on some great measure, and had not been in the House all day, when they were voting on a contested election case. Of course such cases were decided in those

days without reference to party. He said, "Shall I vote for this man?" The fellow said, "No; he is a damned rascal," He said, "I know, but I want to know which is our damned rascal."

To look at me, you might not think, gentlemen, that I have a brother-in-law who is a preacher, but I have two. When I listened to the account of Mr. Stern of the rapid influx of uneducated foreigners, I thought we were going to have a hard task to whip them into good citizenship, and it reminded me of an experience of my brother-in-law when he went to a new parish. They had been fighting for years in factions in that parish. When he got there people came around and told him this man had forged a paper, and the other good brother was a licentious man and another man lied in horse trading, and he just waited quietly till the last man had been condemned and then he got them together and he said, "Brethren, I have heard that Mr. So-and-so is guilty of this, etc., and I have learned that you are all guilty of some heinous offense, and I have come to the conclusion that if God Almighty wants to have a church at the Corners He will have to take such material as he has got and say nothing about it."

Judge Carter has told us that a boss is impossible except in a democracy. I want to take a minute or two to call your attention to the fact that bosses have prevailed in monarchies to a greater degree than they prevail with us to-day. Anyone who has studied the history of Walpole knows that Walpole suppressed the powerful boss of the absolute monarchy, and knows that in the final attempt to get rid of the squabble between the Crown and the aristocracy they conferred finally the suffrage on the great mass of the adult males, and they adopted the principle of the premiership and the representative cabinet, and they put that cabinet in to make the laws as well as to enforce them. When they did that they didn't get rid of the boss. They had then a party leader who was the boss, and they got a decent government.

That comes down to the thing, Judge Carter said, that what we want is responsibility. There are two things in our system that prevent responsibility. The first is the multiplicity of elections. We have too many elections. You can't tell whose rascal it is you are voting for. I remember four years ago standing in our main hall at the university where a sample ballot was posted, and a lot of students gathered around and wanted me to tell them whom to vote for, and I counted up 173 names on that ballot, and I couldn't tell which was my rascal for the life of me. We have got to get rid of part of our elections as a means of centralizing responsibility. We cannot adopt the cabinet system as Great Britain has done, that centers responsibility. If the legislation is wrong they can locate the responsibility for it. You can't put responsibility on anybody in our government. The issues can be confused and you can combat it as long as that, and

half are bad and half are good, and you are to solve the whole thing under the party system. We want to control the party system just as we want to control the trust, by publicity. The trust has come to stay and ought to stay. It is accompanied by abuses. We must hold it responsible. We have got to get our party leaders where we can hold them responsible for their acts. We are governed by the bosses and they are not responsible. The primary is the second great step, always accompanied by civil service reform, which we have got fairly started. When we come to the direct primary I should know when I come up to cast my sovereign ballot what I am voting for. We do not get by the party nominating convention the choice of the people. No one supposes we do. We probably can reform away the conventions. At least if we can't do that we can have direct primaries and legal recognition of parties and legal registration of party voters; and when we do that I agree with the Judge that we cannot buy all the people. I have a profound consciousness that the mass of the American people are honest, and I have confidence enough in the honor, sense and sound judgment of the American people to believe that they will arrive at a safe conclusion if you give them the facts in the case. We want to get responsibility. We are going to get that by civil service reform, and by having legal registration of party voters.

THE CHAIRMAN: Our able Commissioner of Public Works, Mr. Lawrence E. McGann.

MR. LAWRENCE E. MCGANN: Most of the gentlemen who have preceded me appear to agree that the party boss is the creature of law, and while the theory that that which is right may sometimes be questioned, it is a question whether we want to reform ourselves—assuming that all of the gentlemen present are anxious to have restored to them some of the liberties that have been taken away from them—or whether we want to have all of the people reformed. I think it is very important to separate the question. Let us assume that instead of reforming the mass of the people as to whom so much doubt has been expressed as to their ability to exercise the right of citizenship intelligently, that we are not considering them to-night, that we are considering ourselves. So far as I am concerned, I have just as much confidence in that class of people as I have in myself or in any other gentleman present, because many of them before they struck these shores were as thoroughly in sympathy with our general plan of government as any man who is here. Many of them more patriotic before they ever sought our shores. But to the point. It is this: The principle originally fought for to secure freedom was to secure the freedom of the individual and the

right of the individual to participate in the affairs of the government. That moved along for quite a period in the history of our county; then through the anxiety of the citizen to promote his own welfare he delegated his powers in his party to a convention. In other words, while he succeeded in driving out a monarchy he established King Caucus, and delegated to him the right to think for him. And you gentlemen to-night have never seen a primary election in which you felt for one minute that your expression in that ballot was material in the conduct of this government. Let us apply ourselves more particularly to our municipality. The national government does not suffer so much as our local government. We say reform the primary law. Why? The primary law stands between the citizen and an expression of his thought. He delegates to a convention the right to formulate his views. A convention never met, no matter how honest, no matter how intelligent, no matter how patriotic, that represented the men who formed it. If you want to restore to the citizen the liberty that was originally his, abolish the primary and abolish the convention. Strike out that portion of the election law that gives dignity and superior position to the men who are placed on the ballot for you to consider in a convention. Utilize that portion of the election law that makes it possible for any number of citizens to petition the election commission to place on the ballot the name of John Jones to be elected for Mayor. Make your petition sacred. Make it a penal offense for any man to sign that petition who is not a registered voter and let him state in his petition that he is of such a ward. Then get as many men named on that ticket for you to vote for as there are different sentiments in the community, and it will not be a case of seeking your rascal, it will be a case of seeking the man who comes the nearest to holding your views on public questions. Let him make his own platform, as was made in the early history of our country, both on national and local questions. We are suffering from having voted away our liberties. The liberty that was fought for and bequeathed to us, we were indolent and did not desire to exercise. There is not a man who is a dictator of a party in the United States who is not a creature of the law, and as the manager of a party he is bound to promote the welfare of that party as he sees it. As to the selfish motives that may govern men, the least said of that the better, gentlemen. If we want to exercise all the powers that were intended to be exercised by citizens we must wipe out that portion of the law that prevents us from exercising it.

We arrogate to ourselves sometimes a superior intelligence and proceed to reform some sections of the community that are supposed to have the least intelligence, which are generally what is known as the poor men's wards, and if the condition that is desired by the gentleman on the right continues, viz., the perpetuation of the trusts, there

will be more poor men's wards than we have at the present time. There will be fewer men in business. And I want to say that you professional gentlemen are commencing to feel the pressure already. There is just one good thing that will come from that, and that is that the professional men who have heretofore been the promoters and conservers of capital will co-operate again with the people, as they did thirty years ago. Their brains will come to the assistance of brawn, and the liberties of the people may be restored. The honesty of the people doesn't seem to be questioned at all. That being so, restore to the people their liberty. As long as you have a caucus that you enthrone as king, you will have a manipulator of politics who will be the leader. As to whether he is to be a leader or a boss depends upon the individuality of the man. It is a big job to commence and reform this nation at the top. Let us begin in the precincts. Let us change the law so that instead of placing on the ballot the nominees of any party you will place on there the names of men who have received a sufficient number of signatures to their petitions. As long as you simply place on the ballot party nominees the gentlemen who desire to have their views impressed upon the community are wholly at a disadvantage.

MR. WILLIAM HALE THOMPSON: My experience in politics dates back to two years ago when I happened to break into a nomination for Alderman in the Second Ward, and my experience has therefore necessarily been limited. I quite agree with Commissioner McGann and some of the other gentlemen that the root of the whole evil lies in the primary law. I believe that the great common class of workers of this country should dictate the laws, and I believe that under the present primary law they are not allowed to do so. In the last election in this city, out of some 400,000 voters only 40,000 voted at the primaries, and this 10 per cent decided who should be the nominees of the party. That is all wrong. The people feel that they cannot go to the primaries in sufficient numbers to have their expressions properly recorded, so that they can have something to do with the nomination of the candidate. It reminds me of a little thing that happened the other day. I was looking over the John Worthy School and watching the boys drilling by companies. Each little company elects its own captain and its lieutenant and I said to Mr. Sloan, the Superintendent, who, by the way, is a pretty practical Democratic politician, "How do you get such bright fellows for the leaders?" "Well," he said, "the boys vote for them, but we hold the primaries." So that the authorities of the prison dictate whom the boys shall vote for. This may be very wise in this case, but I do not think that should apply in primary elections. Why should primaries be open only in the afternoon for a few hours, so that the working people

generally have no opportunity to vote before they go to work or after they come home from work? I believe that is one of the reasons why the people don't vote. I believe something should be done and now is the time to do it, and as Judge Carter says, "Who has done anything and why don't they do something?" and I believe if at this meeting to-night the Sunset Club would appoint a committee to begin to do something we would accomplish a great deal. I believe that the will of the people should govern the party organization and that when the primary law is so adjusted that the people can register their votes and express their desires, you will change the party boss to the party leader.

MR. NEWTON A. PARTRIDGE: The first thing that strikes me in the discussion this evening is the strongly theoretical and scholastic character of the discussion carried on by men with great experience in practical politics. Now we all know that what the politicians are after in this country is to carry the elections, and to nominate such men as they will be able to elect, except in those cases where from time to time men are nominated to be defeated, and that is often the work of the party boss. Now, having carried the election, the next thing is to reap the fruits of it. Between national policies and the concrete questions which arise in our municipal elections there is very little relation, but in order to insure national success at the national election, it is deemed essential that a disciplined force should be maintained during off years; and to maintain a disciplined force requires control of the sinews of war. Therefore we find our party politics as nearly dominant as may be in municipal elections, because in municipalities is to be reaped in richest abundance the fruit upon which these disciplined forces are to be maintained. That being the case you find the party boss in ward politics, not because national policies are there essential, but because the surroundings are such as to be particularly fruitful in the production of this kind of spawn.

In New York City for the last seventy-five years there has grown up the most solid political aggregation that this country has ever seen—Tammany Hall. The officers of this organization are elected by the people just as much as anything can be elected, and still it is a close organization that controls itself and controls the people. This is done by having its active agent in every election precinct in the city. No party has ever undertaken to organize the city of Chicago in such a way. Nor could a city like New York be organized in that way in a short time. It takes persistent effort to do it. If it were possible to organize in this city five men in each precinct who would actively work together, almost everything could be accomplished in the way of party reform. At this last election—I live in a good ward,

but we did not get our will carried out there, and it was our own fault. We simply didn't do a thing, and they didn't do a thing to us. I suppose that the word "Boss" means a prominent point, something that rises eminent over its surroundings. So we have our political boss who, through some means or other, is able to dominate his surroundings. Now those who take hold and work, in the end win, and those who won't work will be worked. The political boss in order to be a success must exercise dominating power; in other words, he is a trust, in that he is a monopoly. When I listened to Mr. McGann's suggestion that we do away altogether with caucuses and primaries and conventions, it struck me right away that it would be very difficult to elect a President on that plan. If we are going to elect by direct vote—and that seemed to be the idea, I wonder how many people would be voted for, and I wonder who would get a majority. In that case we would revert to the original plan, because originally it was not intended ever to elect a President by an electoral vote, except in those rare instances where one man rose paramount in the country, but that the electoral college should nominate two men, one of whom must be chosen by the House of Representatives. Now, I cannot see how without primary elections it would be possible to get together on a President. What is needed in the case of a boss is certainly competition, for competition will break him down like any other trust. What we want to do is to start active competition along intelligent lines. In a free country, with free speech; it is not possible for a few unscrupulous men for their own selfish purposes permanently to dominate a large adverse majority. In this country wherever you find what we call a landslide, it is never affirmative. There is no kind of affirmative enthusiasm that ever brings about anything of that kind. It is a revolt against continued outrage. It is always negative. Political revolutions are brought about in no other way, and if this energy can be conserved in some useful way and distributed over the off periods, we would have no more trouble with political bosses.

MR. CHARLES MCGAVIN: I do not want to be understood to be opposed to party organizations nor party discipline; nor would I favor any scheme of taking away altogether the power of party leaders, if there was any way of limiting that power without totally destroying it. They, like us all, are susceptible to the same environments, loving power, and when possessing it, are inclined to exercise it. It never was said of but one man, and that man was Lincoln, and of him it was truthfully said, that while clothed with almost infinite power he never abused it except upon the side of mercy. I speak of the party boss as distinguished from the party leader. I speak of him as one who attempts, by contemptible intrigues, to

defeat the will of the people and substitute therefor a miserable subterfuge in the shape of his own will; one who sits upon a throne erected in his imagination and whose vanity is tickled as he casts a glance of satisfaction at the cowering tools who bow before him and utter in the language of supplication, "Thy will, not mine, be done." The party boss is no more to blame than the man who remains away from the primaries. No institution can rise above its creators and the party boss is only the creature of his creators. The greatest evil from the party boss comes in the political conventions or the nominating caucuses, and as there seems to be no way of limiting his power without totally destroying it, it seems to me that its destruction would be a fitting sacrifice upon the altar of public expediency. But there seems to be no question here as to the existence of the wrong, or the manner in which it is perpetrated. It is only in the remedy to be adopted that we realize the difficulties. Now, as the convention is the block to which the will of the people is led to the slaughter, it seems that in its abolition a partial remedy lies, and a bill to that effect has been introduced in the Legislature at Springfield, which is similar to the one which has been in successful operation in the State of Minnesota. The effect of it is to abolish the convention, and make the result of the primaries final. But I do not take quite such an optimistic view of it as some people. It seems to me that the only result which can be reasonably anticipated from its adoption is to increase the interest in the primaries, for the abolition of the convention would simply leave the party boss in full charge of all the political machinery, and he would still have the best of it, and in order to successfully cope with him it would be necessary to have another organized effort with leaders on either side, and the victorious man would thenceforth be the party boss. But if abolishing the convention would increase the interest in the primaries the bill would not be a failure.

MR. JOSEPH B. DAVID: I think that the party boss would cease to exist if the name Republican or Democrat were erased from the ballot in municipal elections. You say you must have party organization. Now, if in a city of 200,000 a man can announce himself a candidate for Mayor, though not nominated by a convention, I see no reason why it cannot be done in a city of one million. I am a native of Louisville. I remember when that city had a population of over a hundred thousand we never knew such a thing as a Democratic or Republican candidate for Mayor. It is true the city was strongly Democratic, and ordinarily no one but a Democrat would be elected. Now, I am a party man and believe in party organization, and believe in primaries and bosses. It seems the discussion to-night, if you read between the lines, hasn't any reference to our boss, but has a refer-

ence altogether to the Republican party boss. • Nobody seems to attack our boss because, according to the election a few weeks ago, people seemed satisfied with him. Now, in our city nobody cared whether the nominee for City Attorney or Mayor was a Democrat or Republican, and I tell you the people of Chicago to-day don't care whether the Mayor is a Democrat or Republican. They don't care anything about it. And if you will let any man who can get a sufficient number of persons to sign his petition run for Mayor, you won't have any party bosses.

Another thing which has not been touched on here is that most of you people who are seeking to reform the world do not go into your ward and join your Ward Clubs. If you want to eliminate the party boss and elect delegates to express your will, join that Ward Club, and you will control that organization. Isn't that right, Mr. McGann? You want a Democratic or Republican Mayor; now you join your Ward Club and go there and get your fellows to go with you, and get the best men in the ward to join the club and the party boss will be a thing of the past.

MR. WILLIAM F. CARROLL: I think the difference between the party the last speaker belongs to and the party I belong to is this, that when we find a boss that is hurting our party we turn him down. He admits he cannot turn his boss down. But we will not admit in the Republican party that a man can become so powerful that he cannot sometime or other be turned down. I will attack a Republican boss or a Republican executive officer who doesn't do his duty as quick as I would a Democratic one. It was the rank and file of the Republican party who first took steps to turn down John R. Tanner and the supporters of the Allen bill, and we will do it again if we have to.

When the gentleman came from Louisville, Republicans did not exist down there; they didn't dare exist; but four years and a half ago I was doing a little campaigning down in Kentucky, and I met the man who was the Republican candidate for Mayor of Louisville, and they elected a Republican Mayor, and we carried the State of Kentucky. So four years and a half ago they did run politics in municipal elections in Louisville. Now, when this club has had meetings called to discuss the Philippine question, the Cuban question, this hall was filled to overflowing with people discussing something they didn't know anything about. But I have noticed that when we come to home affairs that we have small meetings. Now, we have got through with Aguinaldo, the modern George Washington, according to my friend the last speaker; he is down in Manila being tortured by being allowed to wear diamonds and living in a house with a roof on it. We have got through with that question. A month ago we dis-

cussed Cuba, and one of the speakers was a member who is always attacking the Republican party, and Mr. McKinley in particular—one of the grandest Presidents we ever had. There was a good deal of talk here about the Republican administration enslaving the Filipinos and the Cubans. After the meeting was over, on the way to the train the member I speak of was making those assertions and I said, "I tell you what I will do. Let us come down to the question of slavery at home, right here in Chicago. We are the slaves of political bosses; both the Republican rank and file and the Democrats. Now, you have a great deal more money than I have, but I will contribute just as much time and just as much money as you for the purpose of getting out of this slavery right here at home. If you want to get out, sometime next spring when we are coming on to an election in Hyde Park, I am with you. Let us get down to something that we know about here at home, and not talk so much about slavery thousands of miles away that we don't know anything about." Now, that is my position to-night, gentlemen. These people attack the government at Washington, when they ought to be attacking the administration in Chicago. I extend that invitation to anyone who lives in my neighborhood if they want to get rid of that slavery. Our slavery is right here at home.

Adjourned.

JOSEPH W. HINER, Secretary.

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Smith, J. G.	Tuttle, H. N.	Zander, H. G.
Smith, Pliny B.	Uhrig, F. B.	Zeisler, Sigmund

INDEX TO SPEAKERS

Addams, Jane	338	Fullenwider, J. A.	384
Ashcraft, E. M.	170	Galloway, James B.	129
Bagley, Frederick P.	41	Gestefeld, Ursula N.	347
Bangs, F. A.	204, 228	Gray, John H.	406
Banigan, W. H.	213	Hanecy, Elbridge	40
Black, William P.	236	Harding, Charles F.	202, 206, 213, 214, 219
Bonner, A. W.	66	Henderson, C. R.	307
Brown, E. O.	90, 206, 226	Henrotin, Mrs. Charles	346
Brown, F. A.	33	Herron, George D.	342
Brushingham, J. P.	298	Heyman, A. H.	222
Busbey, W. H.	373	Hill, John H.	215
Butler, Rush C.	382	Hill, William	394
Carroll, Edward	48	Hiner, Joseph W.	4, 39, 73, 107, 137, 169, 201, 233, 265, 297, 329, 361, 393
Carroll, William F.	159, 414	Hopkins, John H.	272
Carter, Orrin N.	402	Ireland, Alleyne	277, 285
Carus, Paul	88	Irving, Nancy B.	355
Chamberlin, Geo. M.	323	Jackson, Luis	283
Chan, Gee Wo	290	Jones, Alex J.	95, 224
Church, Archibald	192	Jones, Jenkin Lloyd	79, 97, 350
Crane, Frank	330, 335, 338, 342, 346, 350, 356	Judson, Harry Pratt	74
Cushing, Eugene B.	282	Kennedy Mr.	68
Cutting, Chas. S.	246	Kuehn, Herman	64, 221
David, Joseph W.	25, 87, 132, 284, 413	Loesch, Frank J.	265, 271, 276, 281, 386
Davidson, J. H.	75, 100	Lord, D. M.	94, 157, 387
Davis, E. A.	65	MacVeagh, Franklin	363
Darrow, Clarence S.	312	McGann, Laurence E.	408
DeWeese, Truman A.	187	McGavin, Charles	412
Dodson, John M.	176	Madden, Martin B.	396
Errant, Joseph W.	393, 396, 399, 402	Mangasarian, M. M.	266
Felton, Chas. E.	297, 302, 307, 312, 316	Mathews, Shailer	6
Fenn, W. W.	183	Matzinger, Philip F.	234, 253
Finerty, John F.	25	Memory, Henry	31, 96
Freeman, Henry V.	361, 367, 380, 382	Messer, L. Wilbur	170, 176, 183, 187, 321

Miller, James A.	61	Smythe, Geo. B.	285
Moos, Joseph B.	153	Stein, Philip	108, 118, 122
Moran, Thomas A.	122	Stern, Julius	399
Morgan, Thomas	67	Strong, W. J.	32, 317
Munger, E. A.	225	Stubbs, James E.	320, 355
Noyes, La Verne W.	138, 145	Summers, Maud	348
Oldham, W. F.	335	Terry, M. S.	197, 354
Partridge, N. A.	411	Thompson, Slason	8, 33, 383
Patton, Normand S.	50	Thompson, William Hale	410
Perley, E. E.	138, 162	Turner, Henry L.	367
Post, Louis F.	30	Venema, John	28
Rathbone, H. R.	156, 388	Waterman, Arba N.	111
Rice, Wallace	194	West, Roy O.	118, 131, 132
Rossiter, S. B.	323	White, R. A.	380
Salter, William M.	92, 330	Whitman, C. R.	253
Schuyler, D. J.	16	Willard, N. P.	220, 352, 385
Shackleford, Charles	24	Woodbury, O. E.	57, 64
Shepard, Frank L.	109	Wright, A. W.	303, 352
Simon, A. M.	217	Yarros, Victor S.	319, 376
Sinton, W. L.	355	Zeisler, Sigmund	63, 146, 161, 316, 387
Smalley, E. H.	88, 154		
Smith, Howard L.	3		



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